The State of Racial Disparities

A Report on Racial Inequality in Maine

Permanent Commission
RACIAL, INDIGENOUS & TRIBAL POPULATIONS

NOVEMBER 2024

Contents

Introduction

Maine, known for the rugged beauty of its forests, lakes, rivers, and coast, charming communities, and bountiful wildlife, holds a complex past. It's also known as "the whitest state in America" where many assume the history of racism and current racial inequality in the United States do not apply. This misperception overooks the presence and vibrant cultural heritage of Wabanaki people and the significant contributions of Black Mainers since the early days of colonization. It also obscures a past that continues to impact people from all walks of life and areas of the state today.

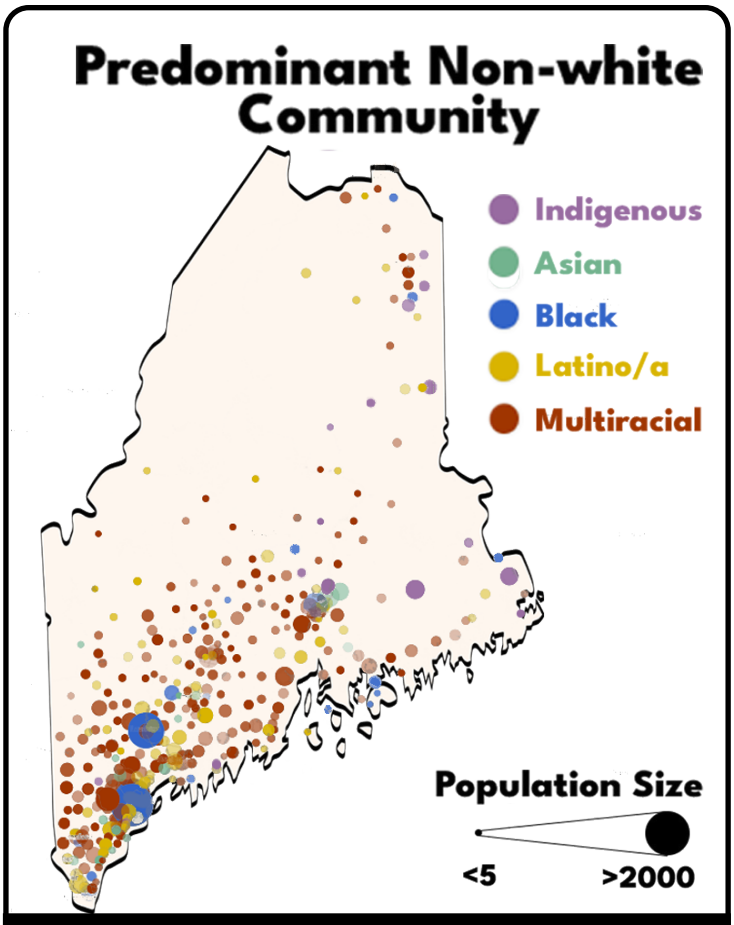

Figure 1. People with racial, Indigenous, and tribal backgrounds are found across Maine's geography and, in some places, have long histories and cultural practices. Data Source: 2018-2022 American Community Survey.

Today, Maine ranks worst in the nation for racial disparities in homeownership. Mainers of color are up to nine times more likely than white Mainers to be incarcerated, and twice as likely to live below the poverty line. People of color in Maine are disproportionately and systematically underhoused, underpaid, and left without the resources they need to thrive in our public schools and places of employment. And our Wabanaki neighbors - the Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Mi'kmaq, and Maliseet - are unique among federally-recognized tribes for not having the legal authority to self-govern, with far reaching social and economic consequences. The factors that drive racial inequality harm all Mainers, regardless of race. Many of the harms outlined in this report, such as exploitative labor practices, lack of access to resources like health care, child and elder care, and housing assistance impact white Mainers, as well as Mainers of color. Recognizing these shared challenges can empower Maine people to work together for a future that works better for all of us.

66%

of Mainers see inequality as a problem.*

As Mainers, we know that none of us can thrive while some of us are left behind. A 2023 poll indicated that 66% of Mainers see inequality as a problem across our state, and a majority name racism as a significant part of that problem.* From housing to employment, healthcare to criminal justice, the impact of laws, policies, and practices that discriminate against people of color have left scars across our state that directly impact the lives of Mainers today.

The Permanent Commission on the Status of Racial, Indigenous, and Tribal Populations is an independent government agency dedicated to understanding the disparities caused by historic injustice and working directly with impacted communities to build a brighter future where all Mainers can thrive. We conduct research, outreach, and community building, and advocate for policies that don't just cover up the symptoms of racial injustice, but dismantle its root causes. This includes addressing institutional, structural, and systemic forms of racism that have emerged over time (see Figure 2).

** The Permanent Commission partnered with Lake Research Partners to conduct this poll in the fall of 2023, examining public perceptions of racial disparities in the state. The survey was administered by phone to a sample of 850 Mainers and was weighted based on 2020 Census data prior to analysis to ensure findings were representative of Maine's population.*

Today, even as blatantly racist laws have been removed from the books, the ideas and assumptions that formed them are encoded into our language, culture, customs, and organizational structures. These systems were built throughout history with intention - and it will take intention to dismantle them.

As Mainers, we look out for our neighbors because we know that none of us can thrive while some of us are left behind.

As an important step in this effort, the Permanent Commission has identified key policy areas with known racial disparities. In each area, we have scanned the most recent literature, datasets, reports, and research to better understand the pathways from which inequalities emerged and through which we can create lasting change.

Findings from this research are available in the following sections of this report, but only brush the surface of each of these issues. Additional resources are provided so that those who are interested may continue to deepen their knowledge on the drivers and impacts of systemic racism nationally and in Maine. This report and associated resources will be updated biennially to ensure that disparities in our state are being named, tracked, and recognized in the light of day — not swept under the rug.

For clarity and to assist with comprehension of information across a wide range of audiences, this report breaks down racial inequalities in Maine into topical areas. We recognize that each of these issue areas are inseparable — intertwined through histories of colonialism, enslavement, segregation, oppression, and erasure across multiple scales from the individual to the institutional. We also recognize the limitations of reporting about race alone, when lived experience occurs at the intersections of our identities. Where possible and meaningful, each of the focus areas highlights how race, gender, wealth, geographic location, and age collide to create complex burdens for people of color. In many places, we also cross-reference these reports to show the interconnectedness of systemic harms and how policy changes can impact people far beyond their apparent scope.

Perhaps most importantly, we acknowledge that the solutions to systemic racism exist not within but at the intersection of these areas of focus **— and always with communities at the center.** Except in cases where impacted communities have made their policy preferences clear, this report does not make specific policy recommendations. Instead, we hope these reports will open doors for richer discussions with impacted communities about how to move forward together.

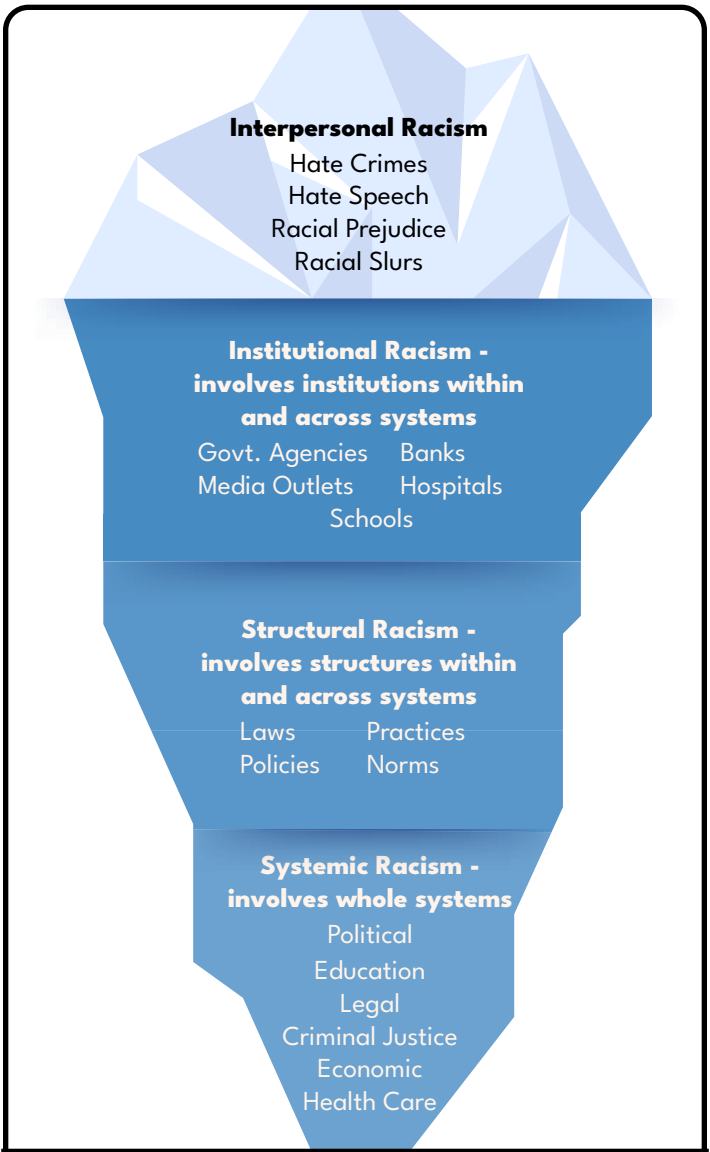

Figure 2. Institutional, Structural, and Systemic Racism are all terms that describe the way that racism becomes embedded in, around, and across our society beyond interpersonal racism, bias, and bigotry. Definitions adapted from Government Alliance on Race & Equity (2018), Braveman, et al (2022).[1,2]

Housing

No matter our income, faith, or skin color, we all do better when every person and every family has a safe, affordable place to call home. Homeownership increases long-term economic security,[3] while access to stable housing more boradly reduces exposure to transmissible disease,[4] and provides children and families an environment in which they can grow and flourish.[5] Today, Maine is in the midst of an affordable housing crisis, stemming from our aging infrastructure, slow rate of development, and high levels of demand as more people want to call Maine home. The rising cost and limited availability of high-quality, accessible housing across the state has contributed to economic stagnation and a lack of critical services as doctors, care providers, and skilled tradespeople leave Maine. Moreover, the burdens associated with this crisis do not fall evenly across the landscape. Today, 87% of Mainers name homelessness, and 79% name housing more broadly, as the most significant area of disparity in our state.[6] And research backs up those claims. For people of color, these disparate conditions are the result of decades-old practices of exclusion from social, economic, and political life. If we want Maine to be "the way life should be" for everyone, we need to act quickly to ensure safer, more affordable, and more accessible housing for all.

Maine's Affordable Housing Crisis

Maine's current housing crisis stems in part from aging homes that require additional maintenance, harsh environmental conditions, and the rural geography of our state. Despite this, Maine has historically maintained relative housing affordability compared with other US states.[7] This largely changed during the COVID-19 pandemic, which drove significant in-migration of both second-home buyers and newly remote workers, placing pressure on the state's aging housing market. As a result, Mainers saw a rapid increase in home and rental prices as demand outstripped housing supply (see Figure 3).[8] As of 2023, these pressures resulted in a rental vacancy rate of only 2.1% across the state.[9] Coupled with stagnating wages and only minor increases to median household income —also unequal across race, Maine has entered into a severe affordable housing crisis that is fueling a troubling spike in the number of unhoused individuals across the state[10] (see more in Wealth and Income). According to a 2023 report by the Maine State Housing Authority, the state would need to build 84,000 new homes in the next seven years to account for existing and anticipated demand across the state, a growth rate not seen in decades.[11]

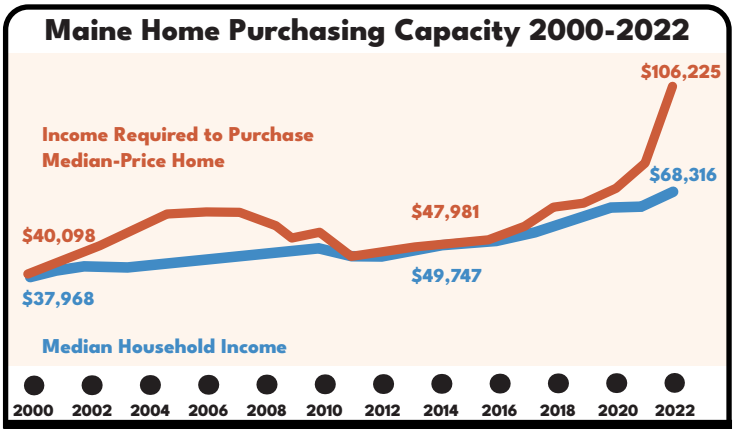

Figure 3. Maine's median home price far surpasses Mainers' ability to purchase. Adapted from HR&A Advisors (2023).[16]

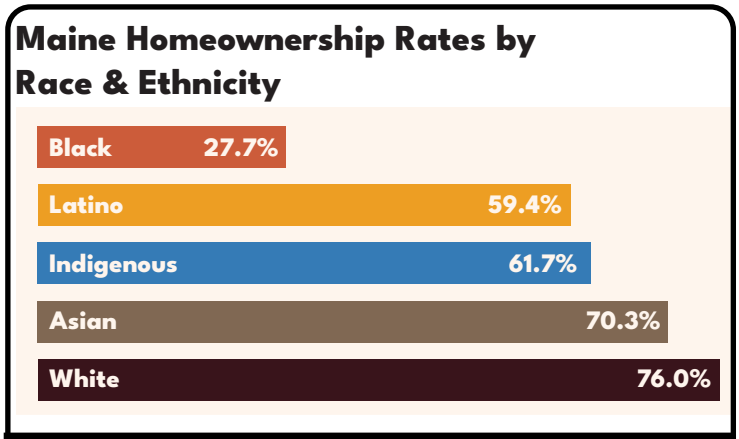

Figure 4. Homeownership rates by race and ethnicity in Maine 2022. Adapted from America's Health Rankings (2024).[10]

Disparities in Housing

Maine's housing crisis is made more complex when we look beyond the lack of housing and ask who is housed here and why. Within and beyond Maine, disparities in housing today can be traced to long histories of racial segregation embedded in law and practice. Prior to the passage of the 1968 Fair Housing Act, this segregation was legally enforced through exclusionary zoning laws and racially restrictive covenants. Following the Act's passage, which made housing discrimination illegal, segregation continued through red-lining practices that allowed lenders to deny loans on the basis of race and ethnicity, shaping the racial make up of communities.[12] Both the legacies of these forms of biased exclusion and the active practices of exclusion continue today as Black, Latino, and Indigenous renters across the country face numerous barriers to accessing housing - from credit checks to lack of past rental histories to issues securing deposits and fees - and are denied home mortgages at as much as twice the rate of white homebuyers.[13]

While most explicitly racist policies and practices were outlawed in the late 20th century, the impacts can still be widely seen throughout our state's housing crisis (see Figure 4). Disparities in income and generational wealth are exacerbated by the state's rising cost of living, creating a poverty trap that makes saving for a down payment even more unachievable for marginalized families. Today, over 70% of Black Mainers are renters, compared with only 25% of the white Mainers, making Maine 50th out of 50 states on the national housing equity index.[10] As these factors compound, we see racial disparities manifest not just in housing, but also in who is unhoused. Since 2019, Maine has experienced a significant increase in the number of unhoused people across the state, with roughly 47% coming from Black communities, despite making up only 1.6% of the state's population.*[14]

Addressing our current affordable housing crisis requires an investment by the state in developing new affordable housing, and making sure Mainers — including people of color most impacted by this crisis — can access the homes we do have. Today, 75% of Mainers support a state policy that provides public assistance to help cover the cost of housing for those with low incomes,[15] which can help to stall the growing number of unhoused Mainers living in shelters, on the streets, and in untenable temporary arrangements. To solve this crisis will also require an active political intervention into the poverty cycles that are a driving force behind housing instability and disproportionately harm people of color.

> **"I was getting my first apartment and I sound white. I mean you couldn't tell on the phone that I'm a Black person. So I'm talking to the landlord. I think I've got this place, I'm going to see it. Everything is great and awesome, right? This is my first wake up call. When I get there, allegedly, the place is 'taken'..."**
>
> **–Black Mainer**

QUICK FACTS

The average income needed to purchase a median-priced home in Maine today is $106,225. The median income in Maine is $68,316.

Maine has the nation's lowest rental vacancy rate (2.1%) as of 2023.

47% of the state's unhoused population is Black, despite only making up **1.6% of Maine's population.**

Only **28%** of Black Mainers own their home, compared with **76%** of white Mainers.

Maine ranks 50th out of 50 states in terms of racial equity in homeownership.

BACKGROUND CONTEXT & THEORY

A Tale of One City - The Delmar Divide (video).

Feagin, J. R. (1999). Excluding blacks and others from housing: The foundation of white racism. *Cityscape,* 79-91.

Jacobs, D. E. (2011). Environmental health disparities in housing. *American journal of public health,* 101(S1), S115-S122.

Krivo, L. J., & Kaufman, R. L. (2004). Housing and wealth inequality: Racial-ethnic differences in home equity in the United States. *Demography,* 41, 585-605.

National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, Health and Medicine Division, Board on Population Health and Public Health Practice, Policy and Global Affairs, Science and Technology for Sustainability Program, & Committee on an Evaluation of Permanent Supportive Housing Programs for Homeless Individuals. (2018). Appendix B: The history of homelessness in the United States. *Permanent Supportive Housing: Evaluating the Evidence for Improving Health Outcomes Among People Experiencing Chronic Homelessness.* National Academies Press (US).

Pager, D., & Shepherd, H. (2008). The sociology of discrimination: Racial discrimination in employment, housing, credit, and consumer markets. *Annu. Rev. Sociol,* 34, 181-209.

Rothstein, R. (2017). *The color of law: A forgotten history of how our government segregated America.* Liveright Publishing.

Wachter, S. M., & Megbolugbe, I. F. (1992). Impacts of housing and mortgage market discrimination racial and ethnic disparities in homeownership. *Housing Policy Debate,* 3(2), 332-370.

NATIONAL-LEVEL DATA SOURCES

US Census Bureau: American Housing Survey.
Urban Institute Data Tools (sort by housing).
Pew Research Center: Homeownership and Renting.
US Dept. of the Treasury: Racial Differences in Economic Security
St. Mungo's Real Life Stories.

MAINE-SPECIFIC DATA SOURCES

Maine Point-in-Time Study.
Maine State Housing Authority Research & Reports.
US Census Bureau: Maine Housing Data.
Zillow Data for Maine.
UNH: Pine Tree State Poll.

** The Maine Point in Time study changed its methodology in 2020 to include individuals living in transitional housing. The statistic offered here represents an approximation of the real increase in homelessness with those data removed from analysis.*

Wealth and Income

As Mainers, we know that our state thrives when all people have the opportunity to do meaningful work, find a safe place to call home, and build a better life for our children and families. For too many people living in Maine today, these foundational needs are out of reach as the cost of living skyrockets while wages stagnate. So many of us are feeling this crunch that nearly 70% of Mainers named wealth and income inequality as an area of concern.[17] But for racially marginalized communities, these impacts are amplified by legacies of inequality that compound to limit opportunities, earnings, and the generational transfer of wealth. Addressing the systemic causes of wealth and income inequality — especially those related to access to land, housing, and stable and safe employment — is integral to making Maine a great place to live for all of us.

The Historical Origins of the Racial Wealth Gap

Today, Black households across the US hold only 15% of the average wealth of white households (see Figure 5).[18] "Wealth" refers to the total value of assets held by an individual or a family, and while it is closely related to income, it accumulates over significantly longer time periods and is often passed from generation to generation.[19] In other words, history matters for understanding the distribution of wealth within a

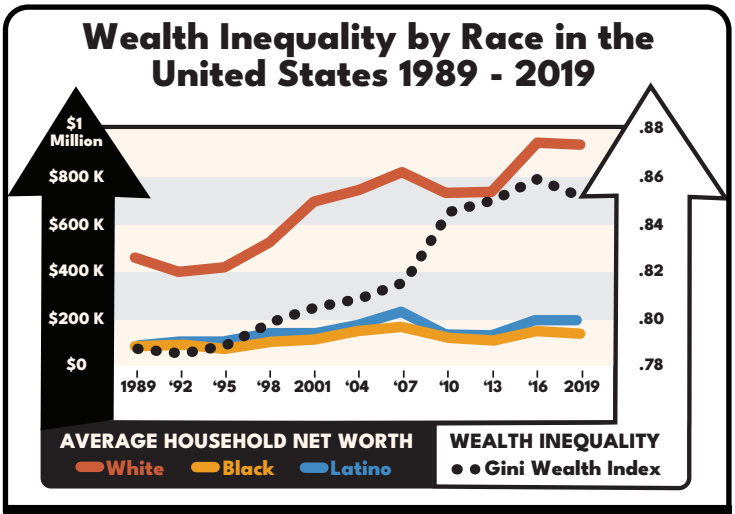

Figure 5. Nationally, white households have far greater wealth than Black and Latino households. Adapted from Aladengady and Forde (2021).[33]

History matters for understanding the racial wealth gap because wealth accumulates as it is passed down from generation to generation.[19]

society. America's "racial wealth gap" can be traced back to early institutions of slavery, which served to consolidate wealth in the hands of a relatively small number of white landowners, whose assets grew both as a result of enslaved labor, and from the slave trade itself. Meanwhile, enslaved Africans during this period — as "articles of commerce" themselves — were never compensated for their labor, were denied access to land and political capital, and were barred from engaging in forms of market exchange that would have allowed them to accumulate assets and wealth. As formerly enslaved people gained independence following the passage of the 13th Amendment, the famous promise of "forty acres and a mule" never materialized, leaving many with few resources from which to build a stable life.[20] More than that, the practice of enslavement did not end with the 13th amendment, but rather evolved — first through sharecropping, then tenant farming, and eventually through practices like convict leasing[21] (see more in Criminal Legal System). As our nation industrialized during this time, Black Americans were intentionally excluded from participation in the growing economy.

Throughout the 19th century, the institutions forged in the antebellum and early colonial period were made more tangible through laws, policies, and practices that transferred vast stretches of land — a key asset for wealth generation — into the hands of white settlers.[22] Over the generations, the racial wealth gap deepend as policies and practices of segregation, sanctioned by federal, state, and local governments, pushed Black citizens off of the land, barred minorities from lucrative career fields, limited access to home and business loans, created barriers to accessing state-sponsored retirement and pension programs, and crafted separate and deeply unequal educational programs that limited the opportunities available to rising generations. Taken together, "a history of low wages, poor schooling, and segregation affected not one or two generations of Black [people] but practically all African Americans well into the middle of the 20th century" and beyond.[23]

The Racial Wealth Gap in Maine

Today, these laws, policies, and practices have compounded to distribute wealth in society along racial lines. Disparities in years of homeownership, household income, unemployment, opportunities for college education, and pre-existing family wealth all factor into how and where assets accumulate [24] (see more in Housing and Public Education). While Maine has a lower measure of wealth inequality than other states in the US, it is not immune to these injustices. As of 2020, Black workers in Maine made on average $0.63 for every $1.00 earned by white workers,[25] and these statistics are also divergent when considering gender, where Maine women make on average $0.77 per $1.00 made by men.[26] We see similar disparities at the household level. In 2023, the median household income of white families was over $70,000 while for Black families it was around $55,000.[27] These disparities are perhaps most notable, however, in Maine's poverty rates. In 2022, 10.2% of white Mainers lived below the poverty line, but that number increased to 13% for Latino Mainers, 17% for Indigenous Mainers, and 29% for Black Mainers that same year.[28]

While wealth disparities between white and Black Americans can predominantly trace their roots back to slavery and segregation, they present slightly differently for tribal communities within and beyond Maine. While personal wealth is a poor proxy for wealth in many Indigenous cultures, it is also difficult to ignore that state-sponsored theft of land, systemic violence, genocidal destruction of Indigenous culture, and forced relocation onto reservation lands have all compounded to create significant barriers to prosperity for Indigenous peoples. Wabanaki Nations also face unique barriers to federal economic development resources that only apply in Maine (see more in Wabanaki Self-Determination). These restrictions on sovereignty not only lead to economic disparities between Wabanaki people and white Mainers and even citizens of federally recognized tribes outside of Maine — they also stifle the economic growth that federal resources could create in neighboring rural communities.[29]

Recent reports have presented a more sunny picture of wealth distribution in the post-pandemic era. Between 2019 and 2022, the wealth of average Americans increased by $51,800, due in large part to rising home values.[30] For Black and other minority homeowners — many of whom are in the bottom 50% of wealth holders in the country — this has led to a rapid increase in net worth. However, rising home prices have also created significant challenges for renters in this same bracket, who now face fewer prospects of homeownership and increasing rental costs. In Maine today, only 28% of Black families own their home[31] suggesting that recent jumps in wealth tied to the value of these assets may serve to deepen the racial wealth gap in our state, with far-reaching consequences for the future[32] (see more in Housing).

QUICK FACTS

As of 2022, 29% of Black Mainers live below the poverty line, compared with 17% of Indigenous people in Maine, 13% of Latino Mainers, and 10.2% of white Mainers.

The Median Household Income for a white family in Maine in 2022 was $70,228, compared with $54,996 for a Black family.

From 1989 to 2020, federally recognized tribes outside of Maine grew their per capita income by 61%. Citizens of Wabanaki Nations during this same period saw only 9% growth, compared to the national average of 17%.

BACKGROUND CONTEXT & THEORY

Baradaran, M. (2017). *The color of money: Black banks and the racial wealth gap.* Harvard University Press.

Boerma, J., & Karabarbounis, L. (2023). Reparations and persistent racial wealth gaps. *NBER Macroeconomics.* Annual, 37(1), 171-221.

Oliver, M., & Shapiro, T. (2013). *Black wealth/white wealth: A new perspective on racial inequality.* Routledge.

Perry, A.,Stephens, H. & Donoghoe, M. (2024). Black wealth is increasing, but so is the racial wealth gap. Brookings Institute.

NATIONAL-LEVEL DATA SOURCES

State Science & Technology Institute: Income inequality across the states.
US Census Bureau: Wealth by Race of Householder (2024).
Pew Research Center: Wealth Gaps across Racial and Ethnic Lines (2023).
Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis Quarterly Wealth Inequality Updates.
Federal Reserve: Disparities in Wealth by Race and Ethnicity in the 2019 Survey of Consumer Finances.

MAINE-SPECIFIC DATA SOURCES

Maine Development Foundation Measures of Growth Report (2023).
Kids Count Data: Children in Poverty in Maine.
Harvard Report: "Economic and Social Impacts of Restrictions on the Applicability of Federal Indian Policies to the Wabanaki Nations in Maine."

Employment & Workers

As Mainers, we know the value of hard work. Safe, secure, and meaningful employment allows us to meet the needs of our families, put food on the table, and ensure a good future for our children. Beyond the essentials, good jobs build wealth, contribute to society, and enable us to live longer[34] healthier lives.[35, 36] However, these opportunities are not available to everyone. In Maine, people of color are more likely to hold jobs with poor pay and difficult working conditions, fewer benefits, and unpredictable schedules. Even in good jobs, they are more likely to face discrimination[37] (see Figure 6). These disparities emerge from centuries of exploitation of workers — especially workers of color, and are often compounded by disparities in wealth, housing, education, incarceration, child and elder care, and healthcare — all of which influence a person's ability to find and keep a good job. This is a problem that concerns all of us. Maine faces a mounting workforce shortage that threatens the affordability of and access to the goods and services we rely on. If we want Maine to be "the way life should be," we must address the conditions that exclude any Mainer from seeing the benefits of their labor.

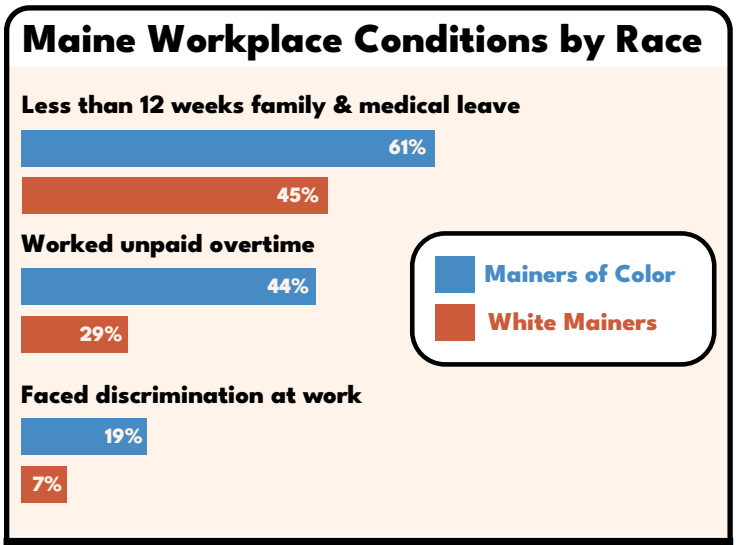

Figure 6. Mainers of color experience worse treatment and fewer benefits in the workplace than white Mainers. Adapted from the State of Working Maine (2019).[37]

Historic Roots of Racial Disparities in Workers' Rights

Today's labor standards — minimum wage, the 40-hour workweek, paid overtime, and workplace protections — were won through the collective action of workers. However, their benefits have never extended to all people. Foundational labor policies enacted in the 1930s — like the minimum wage, unemployment insurance, and the right to organize labor unions — specifically excluded agricultural and domestic workers because the majority of these jobs were held by Black Americans.[38] While slavery had been abolished, the southern economy relied on the exploitation of free and low-cost labor that had previously been supplied by enslaved Black people. Excluding agricultural and domestic workers from emerging labor standards provided a seemingly race-neutral means to meet the demands of southern lawmakers, who saw these protections as a dire threat to their economic and social order.[39] The racial impacts of these laws continue to this day as states, including Maine, limit agricultural and domestic workers' right to organize[40, 41] and provide a livable wage, despite widespread support for these policies among Maine's population. As of 2023, 75% of Mainers supported a minimum wage for farmworkers, and 81% supported policies that would extend collective bargaining rights.[42] Agricultural and domestic workers are still predominantly people of color, and are recognized as among the most exploited and vulnerable workers in the country today.[43, 44]

Excluding agricultural and domestic workers from labor standards provided a seemingly race-neutral means to continue to exploit the labor of Black people.

Maine's Employment Landscape

Some jobs are more dangerous than others — as people who have worked in Maine's heritage industries know well. In the United States, people of color are more likely to hold jobs with the highest injury risk.[45] Forestry provides an example. In 2002, the industry's worst non-fire related accident in US history occurred in Maine when fourteen forest workers from Guatemala and Honduras drowned in the Allagash River after the van transporting them flipped over a narrow bridge. In the same year of the Allagash drownings, Maine timber companies employed 1,200 migrant workers, mostly from Central America.[46] In addition to forestry, agriculture consistently ranks

among the most dangerous occupations.[47] Agriculture in Maine relies heavily on people of color, where 10,000-12,000 migrant workers arrive every year to pick crops like broccoli, potatoes, and wild blueberries.[48] These physically demanding jobs, often involving heavy machinery, exposure to pesticides, and long hours in harsh conditions, carry inherent risks. Even beyond agriculture and forestry, which are known as high-risk occupations, Mainers of color face a higher risk of workplace injuries, highlighting broader inequities in labor conditions and safety standards. Essential jobs are disproportionately held by Black and Latino people, which has been correlated to higher rates of COVID-19 exposure and death;[49] in fact, Maine had the highest racial disparity in coronavirus cases in the US, with Black Mainers falling ill at a rate of more than 20 times their white neighbors[50] (see more in Health & Healthcare).

> **"My first job here, I got told 'Don't be the angry Black guy or you won't get this promotion' to my face, word-for-word."**
>
> **– Black Mainer**

The relative danger of working conditions are one of many contemporary measures of racial disparities in work. Persistently high unemployment rates among workers of color provides another example of how employment disparities manifest in Maine.*[51] While Maine saw its lowest rates of unemployment in over a decade in 2023,[52] Black and Latino workers were approximately 1.5 times more likely than white workers to be looking for work.[53] When searching for jobs, workers of color routinely face discrimination, where white job applicants are twice as likely to receive a callback or job offer than Black applicants with equivalent resumes[54] — a finding that remains uniform across occupation, industry, and employer size.[55] The ability to find and keep a good job is also influenced by the ubiquitous use of social networks to secure employment. While appearing race neutral, consistent disparities in the socioeconomic status of marginalized communities limit the utility of social networks when searching for jobs.[56]

In addition to the challenges described above, New Mainers face unique employment barriers. Federal law requires a six month waiting period after immigration paperwork is filed to begin working, and that waiting period is known to take longer due to inefficient processing of paperwork. Highly experienced and educated New Mainers often work in low-skill jobs because their foreign credentials are not recognized in Maine. Additional factors such as language barriers compound the challenges New Mainers face in finding and keeping jobs, which has downstream impacts on healthcare and housing stability.[57]

QUICK FACTS

75% of Mainers support a minimum wage for farmworkers, while **81%** support farm workers right to collective bargaining.

19% of workers of color in Maine surveyed reported **experiencing discrimination in the workplace.**[71]

Maine farms employ 10,000-12,000 migrant workers annually to pick crops like broccoli, potatoes, and wild blueberries.

Black and Latino Mainers are **1.5x more likely** to be looking for work than white Mainers.

BACKGROUND CONTEXT & THEORY

Browne, I., & Misra, J. (2003). The intersection of gender and race in the labor market. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 29(1), 487-513.

Perea, J. F. (2011). The echoes of slavery: Recognizing the racist origins of the agricultural and domestic worker exclusion from the National Labor Relations Act. *Ohio St. LJ, 72,* 95.

Rodman, S. O., Barry, C. L., Clayton, M. L., Frattardi, S. Neff, R. A., & Rutkow, L. (2016). Agricultural exceptionalism at the state level: Characterization of wage and hour laws for US farmworks. *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development,* 6(2),89-110.

Sykes, B. L., & Maroto, M. (2016). A wealth of inequalities: Mass incarceration, employment, and racial disparities in US household wealth, 1996 to 2011. *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences,* 2(6), 129-152.

NATIONAL-LEVEL DATA SOURCES

Bureau of Labor Statistics 2022 Annual Report on Labor Force by Race and Ethnicity.
Economic Policy Institute Quarterly State Unemployment by Race and Ethnicity.
US Department of Agriculture 2021 Demographic Characteristics of Hired Farmworkers.
Findings from the National Agricultural Workers Survey 2021–2022.

MAINE SPECIFIC DATA SOURCES

Maine Center for Economic Policy 2023 Annual Report on the State of Working Maine.
Maine Center for Workforce Research and Information.
Maine Department of Agriculture, Conservation, and Forestry: Maine Farm Data & Reports.

*Readers should note that in unemployment statistics, "unemployed" specifically refers to people actively searching for work, as opposed to populations not participating in the labor force (ex. retirees, students, stay-at-home parents, etc.)

Transportation

Whether we are going to work, school, the grocery store, or a doctor's appointment, Mainers know that independence requires reliable, accessible transportation. Transportation means access to healthcare, our families and friends, and the great outdoors — and its not just a question of benefits to each of us individually. Places with strong public transportation networks see associated economic and health benefits from job growth and household savings,[58] to lower rates of illness like cancer and cardiovascular disease, and increased social cohesion.[59] Maintaining a robust transportation system in Maine is a substantial task – between hundreds of miles of roads, coastal ferry systems, rail, and airports, Maine has more transportation infrastructure per resident than most states.[60] In 2020, following decades of under-resourcing, the state's Department of Transportation (DOT) acknowledged "the fiscal reality is that we are now competently managing a slow decline of our transportation system"* [61] - all while the state's population continues to grow. Roads and bridges across Maine are in ill-repair, the cost of used and new vehicles are at all time highs,[62, 63] and public transportation options are few and far between. The quality of our state's transportation infrastructure impacts all Mainers, but for those most marginalized – including Wabanki people, New Mainers, and Mainers of color — these impacts compound other disparities to make meeting basic needs particularly challenging.[64]

Disparities in Transportation

The costs of transportation in the US have been disproportionately borne by communities of color who have seen few benefits from their development. Jim Crow era laws forced Black Americans to give up their seats to white riders. The development of the interstate highway system cut through neighborhoods of color and physically segregated cities and towns along racial lines. This process destroyed homes, churches, schools, and businesses, and supported the entrenchment of urban poverty and segregation that persists to this day.[65] Maine was not immune from these practices. Beginning in 1955, Portland's "Slum Clearance and Redevelopment Authority" initiated a series of demolition projects in immigrant neighborhoods. An Authority report regarding the first neighborhood demolished noted its "necessity" to some residents because "members of minority groups, especially non-white, were accepted there." [66, 67] By 1970, Franklin

Figure 7. The Franklin Arterial cut through predominant immigrant communities in Portland. Image Source: McCue, J. (Jan 29, 2020). Portland Press Herald.

Arterial and nearby parks had been constructed in place of the destroyed homes and businesses of hundreds of Italian, Jewish, and Armenian residents[68] (see Figure 7).

Nationally, the construction of highways and major roads created public health crises that disproportionately harmed communities of color.[69, 70, 71] Elevated concentrations of vehicle emissions associated with major roads have supported a pervasive legacy of childhood asthma in Black communities,[72, 73, 74] as well as increased rates of conditions such as cardiovascular disease, cancer, and even premature death.[75, 76] Car-centric city designs are not only bad for health and the environment, they create significant barriers to access for people of color. These disparities have grown more pronounced in recent years as the cost of all vehicles, but used cars in particular, have skyrocketed from an average of around $20,000 in 2019 to an average of around $30,000 in 2023.[77] For low-income† households — who are disproportionately people of color, the cost of owning a car can amount to 20-50% of a household's annual income[78] (see more in Wealth and Income). Disparities in the cost of car ownership compound this issue, where people of color pay between 30-70% more for car insurance than white people, even when controlling for factors like accident rates[79] (see Figure 8). Similar trends exist in the auto loan market, where Black and Latino Americans are more likely to be denied loans than white Americans despite comparable credit scores; and, if they are approved, these populations are offered interest rates that are 0.7% higher than white people on average.[80]

It should be noted that DOT has received significant state and federal funding since 2020, which has alleviated the Department's immediate budget crisis. However, DOT is clear that this funding is not a cure-all and additional revenue is required to meet future budgets.

† Here, "low-income" includes households in the two lowest income quintile ranges: $0-25,806 and $25,807-50,091.

Public Transportation

Public transportation can provide significant benefits to those who may not otherwise have access to transit options. Elders, people with disabilities, and commuters who are women, low-income, young, or people of color are among the most likely to use public transportation nationally. When available, public transportation enhances community mobility and lessens racial disparities as rates of car accidents and air pollution decrease, and access to healthcare, healthy food, employment, and social connection are improved.[81] These societal benefits are among the reasons that public transportation supports our economies,[82] where every dollar invested in public transportation results in five dollars of economic growth.[83]

However, public transportation infrastructure is limited in Maine, in part due to the state's expansive geography. Buses account for less than 1% of the state's annual vehicle travel,[84] and train services are limited to the southern portion of the state.[85] Many older and low-income Mainers rely on public transit, yet nearly 75% of older Mainers live in communities without regular public transportation service.[86] When compared to states with similar climates and populations, Maine receives relatively little federal aid for its rural transportation infrastructure and relies substantially more on municipal funding, which leads to uneven infrastructure across the state.[87] The Maine Department of Transportation has identified Mainers of color, Indigenous peoples, and New Mainers as populations that are chronically underserved by our current infrastructure.[88]

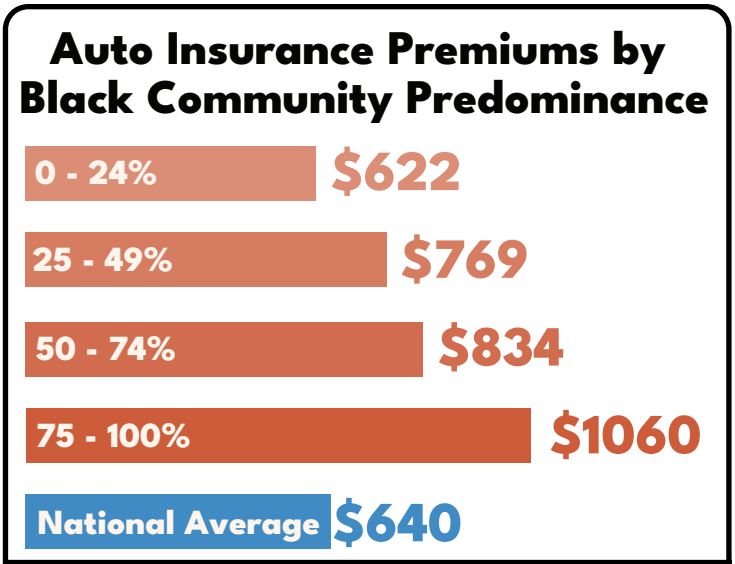

Figure 8. Nationally, costs for mandatory auto insurance are higher in communities of color. Adapted from Feltner and Heller (2015).[89]

QUICK FACTS

People of color pay on average 30-70% more for car insurance than white people.

Buses account for **less than 1%** of Maine's annual vehicle travel.

Every dollar invested in public transportation results in **five dollars of economic growth.**

75% of older Mainers live in communities without access to public transportation.

BACKGROUND CONTEXT & THEORY

Archer, D. N. (2020). Transportation policy and the underdevelopment of Black communities. *Iowa L. Rev., 106,* 2125.

Bullard, Robert Doyle, Glenn Steve Johnson, and Angel O. Torres, eds. *Highway robbery: Transportation racism & new routes to equity.* South End Press, 2004.

Garrett, M., & Taylor, B. (1999). Reconsidering social equity in public transit. *Berkeley Planning Journal,* 13(1).

NATIONAL-LEVEL DATA SOURCES

US Department of Transportation: Bureau of Transportation Statistics Equity Hub.
TransitCenter Equity Dashboard.
Public Transportation In The US: A Driver Of Health And Equity.

MAINE-SPECIFIC DATA SOURCES

The State of Alternative Transportation in Maine.
Maine DOT: Working to Move Maine.
Greater Portland Council of Governments: Gorham-Westbrook-Portland Rapid Transit Study.

Health & Healthcare

Healthcare doesn't just happen in a hospital, but starts with having our basic needs met: a safe place to live, nutritious foods to eat, and a community that supports our well-being. As was evidenced during the COVID-19 pandemic, however, these opportunities are not available to all of us, and as a result, we see significant disparities in health outcomes. Maine had one of the highest racial disparities in coronavirus infections in the US, with Black Mainers falling ill at a rate of more than 20 times their white neighbors.[90] Many factors contributed to this outcome, including disparities in healthcare access in Maine, where racial and ethnic minorities are twice as likely as white Mainers to lack a regular health care provider;[91] where nearly half of homeless Mainers are Black and therefore unable to shelter in place; and where Mainers of color made up a disproportionate percent of Maine's frontline workers, making them more susceptible to disease spread (see more in Housing, and Employment & Workers). These disproportionate burdens did not begin with COVID. Black Americans are at significantly greater risk than white Americans for heart disease, diabetes, asthma, maternal mortality and a host of other illnesses and disorders stemming from inequities in society. Disparities like these are a major reason why organizations such as the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention recognize racism as a serious threat to public health and a driving force behind poor health outcomes among communities of color.[92]

Access to Care

Preventative medicine is a cornerstone of good health, but today, 61% of Mainers and a disproportionate number of Wabanaki community members living in rural areas lack easy access to healthcare.[93] Across the state, approximately one-in-three Mainers must travel more than 30 miles to access primary care[94] (see more in Transportation).Today, 256 Maine towns experience health professional shortages, the vast majority of which (254) are in rural areas[95] (see Figure 9). The impact of provider shortages is compounded by rural Maine's lack of broadband internet access, which limits the viability of telehealth in some parts of the state.[96] This, coupled with long wait times for preventative care, drives more rural Mainers to emergency rooms, at significant economic and overall health cost.[97] The widespread shortage of resources in rural regions has become entrenched over time, where trends in rural economic downturn and practitioner shortages across the United States have contributed to loss of services and expansion of health care deserts.[98]

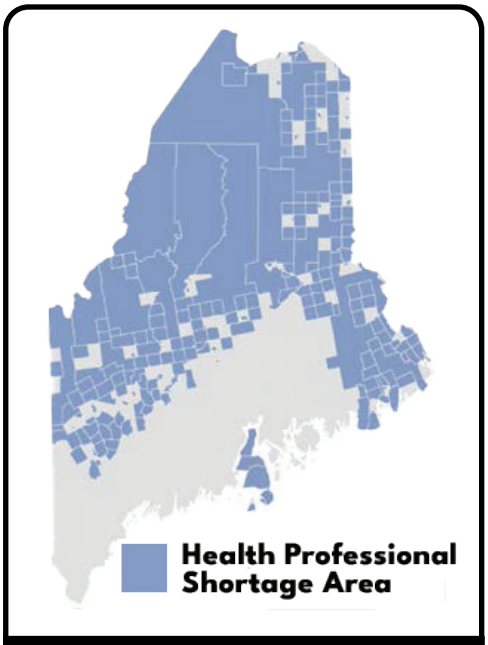

Figure 9. Maine lacks the workers it needs to staff hospitals and care facilities. Adapted from US Health Resources & Services Administration (2024).[95]

Lack of physical access to care, of course, is only one half of the equation. Affordable, accessible health insurance is also a fundamental tool for ensuring personal and public health. Mainers of color are more likely to hold jobs without benefits, and as such, are more than 3 times more likely to be on MaineCare than the state's white residents[99] (see more in Employment & Workers). These patients are more likely to be denied care by practitioners, both in primary and specialty care settings, which can lead patients to seek care from critical access or safety net hospitals, which typically provide lower-quality care at a higher cost.[100] And that is just for individuals who have care. Indigenous and Black Mainers are 1.5 and 2 times, respectively, more likely to be uninsured than white Mainers.[101] Even with insurance coverage, many Mainers are struggling to afford the care they need. Between 2011 and 2017, one-in-ten Mainers experienced cost barriers to care, with Mainers of color being approximately twice as likely to experience cost barriers than white Mainers.[102] The cost burden of accessing care increased dramatically in 2021, when over half of Maine adults (55%) reported cost barriers to accessing healthcare. Among those facing cost barriers, 34% of Maine adults delayed care and 27% declined care.[103] This lack of access to high-quality affordable care is not just bad news for those individuals, but factors into a broader public health crisis that impacts each and every one of us.

Quality of Care

While lack of access to care is a significant driver of disparities in health outcomes, Maine's racial, Indigenous, and tribal communities also encounter other systemic barriers to good health, most notably in the quality of care they receive. Language barriers present one significant barrier to care, especially in rural communities where fewer resources may be available to support translation.

In other cases, these disparities in quality of care can be attributed to discrimination and bias in the way that medical practices have evolved. This is further exacerbated by the fact that there is a lack of doctors of color in the US, as the scarcity of medical schools, high costs, demanding internship requirements, and hostile educational environments experienced by many physicians of color result in their disproportionately low representation. As few as 5.7% of doctors in the US are Black,[104] and overall, people of color account for only 33.1% of US physicians, compared to white physicians at 56.5%. The divide in Maine is even greater, with 80.4% of Maine's 4,581 physicians being white and only 11.7% being people of color.[105]

Today, approximately one-in-three Black adults, and one-in-five Indigenous and Latino adults say they experienced racial discrimination when seeking care from doctors or health clinics.[106, 107] Some studies suggest bias is lower among providers of color, while others have found bias persists irrespective of the physician's race or ethnicity, suggesting that it may be more closely related to medical training than interpersonal bias. Addressing these systemic issues - in both practicing medicine and medical training, are vital as low-quality care reduces trust in the healthcare system and leads to delays and avoidance of accessing care, disruptions of the continuity of care, nonadherence to medical advice, and ultimately, reduced overall health status[108] and greater public health risks.

Reproductive Care

These issues in access to high quality care also impact specific areas of healthcare, including reproductive health. Today, maternal mortality rates provide a stark indicator of ongoing racial disparities in reproductive care. Nationally, there are 16.7 pregnancy-related deaths per 100,000 births, but for Black and Indigenous women, that figure grows to 40.8 and 29.7, respectively. Medical research shows more than half of these deaths are preventable.[109] While Maine's maternal mortality rate cannot be calculated due to the small sample size,*[110] closely related measures on access to prenatal care are available. White Mainers are the most likely to receive prenatal care (87.6%), compared to Indigenous people (79.7%) and Black (70.0%), Hawiian/Pacific Islander (63.6%), and Latino (80.6%) Mainers. White Mainers are also more likely to receive prenatal care as early as they want it (91.1%), compared to 60.3% of Black Mainers.[111]

Many factors contribute to these disparities. National reviews of individual cases show inadequate and uneven clinical management of conditions such as hypertension and cardiovascular disease during pregnancy, which disproportionately affect Black people.[112] Maternal health and well-being. as well as reproductive rights, are also impacted today by long and violent histories of bodily control that began during enslavement and heightened during the eugenics movement, where the use of forced sterilization grew across the US. Maine is no exception. In 1912, Maine forcibly evicted the mixed-race community on Malaga Island, and eight Malaga residents were institutionalized at the Maine School for the Feeble Minded where sterilization was a common procedure.[113]

Racial disparities in reproductive care are also present in access to contraceptives. National contraceptive use among Black females aged 15-49 is 59.9% compared to 67.0% of white females, leaving women of color with fewer options for family planning than their white counterparts. Removing cost barriers to contraceptive access has been shown to increase use among all women regardless of race,[114] as does increasing health insurance coverage. Thirty-two states (including Maine[115]) and the District of Columbia have expanded Medicaid access to include contraceptive coverage, which early evidence suggests can be crucial in reducing racial disparities in contraceptive use and access.[116]

QUICK FACTS:

Indigenous and Black Mainers are **1.5 and 2 times**, respectively, **more likely to be uninsured** than white Mainers.

In 2021, **55% of Maine adults reported cost as a barrier to accessing healthcare.**

80.4% of Maine's physicians are white while only **11.7% are people of color.**

The national maternal mortality rate is 16.7 deaths per 100,000 births, but for **Indigenous women is 29.7 and for Black women 40.8.**

BACKGROUND CONTEXT & THEORY

Dickman, S. L., Gaffney, A., McGregor, A., Himmelstein, D. U., McCormick, D., Bor, D. H., & Woolhandler, S. (2022). Trends in health care use among Black and white persons in the US, 1963-2019. *JAMA network open, 5(6),* e2217383-e2217383.

Harawa, N. T., & Ford, C. L. (2009). The foundation of modern racial categories and implications for research on Black/white disparities in health. *Ethnicity & disease,* 19(2), 209-217.

Paradies Y, B. et al. (2015). Racism as a determinant of health: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *PLoS One* ; 10(9).

US Department of Health and Human Services Healthy People 2030 - Discrimination.

NATIONAL-LEVEL DATA SOURCES

National Institute of Health Ending Structural Racism Data Dashboard.
US Dept. of Health and Human Services: Social Determinants of Health
Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality: 2022 National Healthcare Quality and Disparities Report.

MAINE-SPECIFIC DATA SOURCES

Maine CDC: Public Health Data Reports - Health Disparities.
Maine Shared Community Health Needs Assessment.
Maine Interactive Health Data.

Thirty-one pregnancy-related deaths occurred in Maine between July 1, 2021 - June 20, 2022. Twenty-eight of those who died were white and three were Black.

Child And Elder Care

As a state of working families, Mainers know the importance of high quality, accessible, and affordable care for those we love. Care for our children and aging family members enables us to work and provide the support our families need. Maine currently faces a crisis in the care economy, however, where high costs and lack of services limit access to high quality care across the state. These challenges are further heightened along racial and gender lines, where cultural norms (e.g., around gender) and structural practices (e.g., around parental leave) dictate that women and people of color bear the brunt of caregiving.[117] At the same time, those working in caregiving fields – also often women and people of color – continue to be undervalued and underpaid.[118] Improving access to equitable child and elder care in Maine is essential for families and caregivers.

Access to Care

Maine currently has 1,843 licensed childcare facilities that can serve as many as 55,843 children. Where these facilities are, however, matters as much as their capacity. Today, 3,251 Maine children go without care because local providers are full or there is no provider where they live.[119] Today, *every county* in Maine contains areas where there are more children in need of care than available services can provide (see Figure 10).[120]

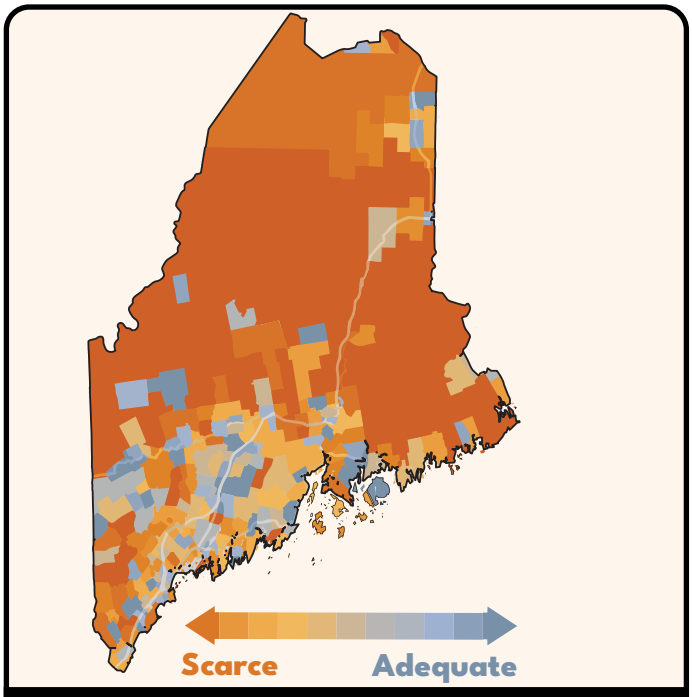

Figure 10. Childcare needs are unmet across most of the state. Adapted from Center for American Progress (2020).[120]

Even in places where child care facilities exist, staffing remains a frequent barrier to operating at full capacity. A recent survey of licensed childcare programs in Maine reported 40% are understaffed, and studies suggest that more than 1,000 childcare workers need to be hired to address Maine's childcare staffing shortage.[121] Growing the childcare workforce is difficult, however, due to issues around affordable housing and low compensation that make it a challenge to attract and retain workers (see more in Housing). Even as Maine has supported the industry in recent years with supplemental stipends for childcare workers,[122] an average childcare worker in Maine earns a salary of $34,150 per year.[123] This low compensation is partially caused by a lack of funding for a key federal program, the Child Care Development Block Grant, which supports states with federal dollars to meet the childcare needs of working families with eligible incomes. In Maine, 35% of children come from eligible families, yet only one in ten eligible children receive subsidized care due to chronic underfunding of the program.[124] The issue of staff shortages is further complicated by the lack of childcare professionals in Maine who can provide culturally appropriate and responsive childcare for Indigenous, immigrant, and refugee families.[125]

These challenges are mirrored in the elder care sector as well. In 2021, there were an estimated 24,350 direct care workers in Maine[126] making on average $13.50 an hour.[127] From 2019 to 2022, Maine saw a significant decline of over 4,000 direct care workers, largely due to pay insufficient to match Maine's growing cost of living. This issue of available workers is even more complicated for those who seek culturally relevant care. A 2020 needs assessment by the University of Southern Maine showed that tribal elders in Maine who need care services preferred to receive care from another Indigenous person. However, due to the lack of staff and general workforce shortages, there were not enough Indigenous caregivers in the workforce to meet these needs.[128]

Low pay for direct care work has ripple effects across Maine's communities. Today, 39% of direct care workers live in low-income households and nearly one-in-four (24%) lack affordable housing.[129] The COVID-19 pandemic also placed direct care workers into situations which negatively impacted their careers and health, further complicating the struggles associated with this work. A lack of adequate protective gear and the necessary face-to-face care required in their jobs caused many direct care workers to contract COVID. By the end of 2020, for example, over 350,000 nursing home staff across the country had contracted COVID and nearly 1,300 died.[130] As a result of these challenges and concerns, between March and May 2020, the number of direct care workers nationally dropped by 280,000 people.[131] Maine saw similar declines in the direct care workforce.[132]

Affordability of Care

In places that do have available care, affordability remains a barrier for many families. For the 70% of Maine households with children under 6 years old where both parents are in the labor force, childcare is almost always a necessity.[133] These services, however, come with significant costs. While federal standards dictate "affordable childcare costs" should be below 7% of a family's income,[134] that benchmark is well out of reach for most Maine families, where childcare costs on average around 20% of a family's annual income. The average cost of care per child in Maine is $12,500, and can reach as high as $19,000.[135] This burden falls particularly hard on Maine families of color, whose median income is significantly lower than that of white families in the state,* and whose irregular work schedules often create even greater challenges in accessing high quality care.[136, 137] These same challenges are mirrored in Maine's elder care landscape. Today, the state ranks 49th out of 50 in terms of affordability and access to at-home external elder care services, and 45th out of 50 for nursing home cost, with annual costs representing 292% of Mainers' median household income (see Figure 11). Home care, while presenting some cost savings, does not erase the cost associated with elder care. Nationally, out-of-pocket expenses to care for elderly family members averages around $7,242 per year.[138] This financial strain differs significantly along racial lines, where for example, Latino caregivers report spending nearly half (47%) of their annual income compared to 18% among white caregivers.[139]

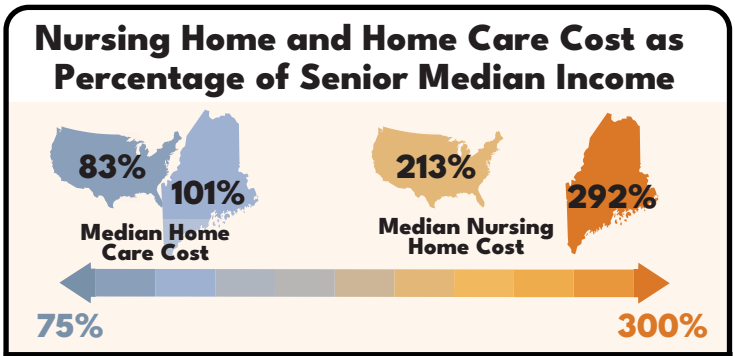

Figure 11. Elder care costs in Maine are significantly higher than the national average. Adapted from Reinhard et al, (2023).[148]

Broader Economic Impacts

The high costs and challenges related to accessing child and elder care in Maine hurt working families. In Maine in 2023, lack of childcare was the primary reason 22,000 Mainers were not working.[140, 141] Nationally, people of color are more likely to experience challenges like these, where 28% of Latina women and 28% of Black women report taking unpaid leave to provide childcare, compared to 12% of white women.[142, 143] This can impact short-term and long-term economic stability and job prospects, and by extension, deepens racial disparities related to wealth and income (see more in Wealth and Income). Additionally, Mainers of color are more likely to work in jobs with poor pay, unpredictable hours, and limited time off, compounding the difficulties of finding affordable care that accommodates irregular schedules [144, 145] (see more in Employment & Workers). Recent studies have shown that declines in the workforce associated with care provision also come at great cost to the state, which loses over $1.4 billion annually in economic activity.[146, 147]

QUICK FACTS

3,251 Maine children are without childcare due to lack of providers.

39% of direct care workers live in low-income households

In Maine, childcare on average costs of **20% of a family's annual income.**

Maine is **49th out of 50** states in terms of affordability and access to at-home external elder care service.

BACKGROUND CONTEXT & THEORY

Brotman, S. (2003). The limits of multiculturalism in elder care services. *Journal of aging studies,* 17(2), 209-229.

Duffy, M. (2011). *Making care count: A century of gender, race, and paid care work.* Rutgers University Press.

Moorman, J. D. (2021). The privilege of childcare: an intersectional analysis of the COVID-19 US childcare crisis and its implications for CAM research. *Journal of Children and Media,* 15(1), 41-43.

NATIONAL-LEVEL DATA SOURCES

Annual KIDS COUNT Data Book Report (2023).
National Center for Assisted Living Facts and Figures.
CDC/National Center for Health Statistics Nursing Home Care Data
Center for the Study of Child Care Employment (University of California, Berkeley).

MAINE-SPECIFIC DATA SOURCES

Maine Council on Aging Biennial Report (2022).
Maine Office of Child and Family Services Early Childhood Education Data Dashboard.
Maine State Plan on Aging: Needs Assessment.
Bipartisan Policy Center: Child Care Gap Assessment Maine.

** Based on Partnerships for Health analysis of data from the US Census Bureau, 2022 American Community Survey (Table S1903).*

Public Education

Mainers know that a quality education is the backbone of a flourishing community. Not only is education a human right,[149] but a strong education can help people succeed in their careers, and improves emotional intelligence and the quality of our civic life.[150] Completing high school is shown to increase an individual's financial stability and socio-emotional well-being, improve health outcomes, and increase public service and community engagement.[151] These are among the reasons that public education has been called the "great equalizer" of society.[152] What students learn matters, however, and in Maine, we still have a lot of work to do to ensure that our students are learning the full history of our state, and that opportunities to learn are available to everyone. Research has consistently shown that addressing racial disparities in education and embracing diversity in schools leads to positive outcomes for all students.[153]

Experience of Racism in Maine Schools

'*Racism is my high school experience*'– the words of then-Bangor High student Amara Ifeji – appeared among the headlines of the Bangor Daily News in June of 2020. The paper's investigation into pervasive racism at Bangor Schools brought to light the racial slurs, taunts, and discrimination that five students of color faced, and how administrators and teachers failed to act. Less than a year later, an independent investigation commissioned by the Bangor School Department confirmed these students' experiences. But Bangor schools are far from alone in confronting racism. Schools throughout the state have received similar allegations and documentation. In May of 2022, more than 200 students at Portland Middle Schools held a protest claiming their school culture tolerates racism. One month later, Portland Public Schools announced survey findings that the district's Black students were suspended at 1.5 times their enrollment rate, with the most pronounced disparities found in Portland Middle Schools, where Black students made up 28% of the student population but received 47% of suspensions. Parents of immigrant students attending Skowhegan area schools reported their 9- and 14-year-old children were called the n-word by other students, and similar allegations were raised in Waterville and Fairfield-area schools. English language learning students across the state described unique challenges, including a profound sense of isolation at school due to their placement in separate classrooms and buildings.[154] These forms of interpersonal discrimination and structural inequalities are known to harm academic performance, and are significant factors in explaining Maine's racial disparities in educational achievement.[155]

Educational Achievement in Maine Schools

Maine's public school system educates around 170,000 students from kindergarten to grade 12 every year. From 2013 to 2023, these schools became significantly more diverse, serving around 16% students of color compared with only 10% a decade ago.[156] As these numbers grow, racial disparities in education become clear. Generally, Maine students of color have below-average enrollment rates in Advanced Placement (AP) courses and Gifted and Talented programs.[157] In high school, students of color and English language learning students are less likely to graduate.[158, 159] Maine is one of only three states in the nation where the academic achievement gap (measured by standardized test scores) between Black and white students grew between 2000 and 2013.[160] Lack of diversity among staff and educators may be partially responsible for these shortcomings. Research shows that students of color do better when they have teachers that look like them[161, 162] and while the number of students of color grows, it is unclear if similar trends are occurring among educators. The Maine Department of Education (DOE) does not collect racial data on school staff, but other sources suggest that Maine's current teacher pool remains well over 90% white.[163, 164]

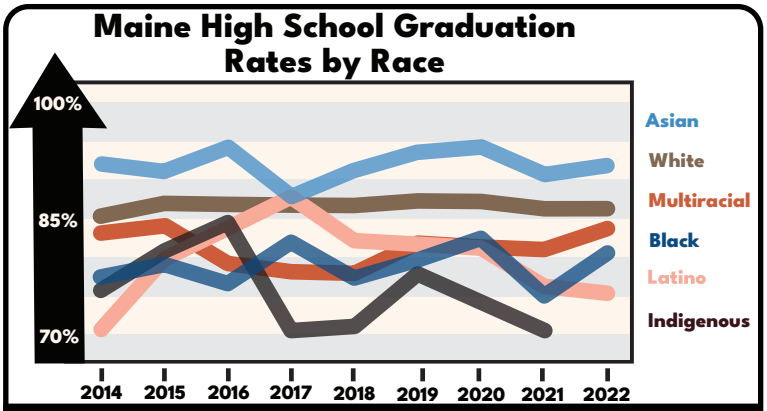

Figure 12. Indigenous, Latino, and Black students are less likely to graduate from Maine high schools.* Data Source: New England Secondary School Consortium. (2023).[166]

Factors Driving Disparate Outcomes

There are many factors driving racial disparities in Maine's educational achievement. These include implicit and sometimes explicit bias among educators and students, systemic challenges for supporting English language learning students,[165, 166] and compounding factors related to hunger, housing, and wealth inequality that can lead to high rates of truancy and low performance among students[167, 168] (see more in Food Security, Housing, and Wealth and Income). These impacts are particularly noticeable among Indigenous students, where in 2022, for example, the DOE reported that as many as 50% of Maine students

** Graduation rates have been computed using the formula (# of Graduates) ÷ (# Adjusted Freshmen Cohort). The rate relies on the identification and tracking of a four-year graduation cohort. New England Secondary School Consortium. (2023). Common Data Project Annual Report.*

identifying as Indigenous were chronically absent, nearly twice the rate of white, Black, and Asian students.[169] In turn, this group had the highest high school drop-out rate at nearly 20% compared to only 9% for students identifying as Black or white (see Figure 12).[170] Racial disparities in school discipline also factor into educational achievement. From 2013 to 2018, Black students in Maine were suspended at approximately twice their enrollment rate. During the same period, Indigenous and Latino students were suspended at or above their enrollment rate while white and Asian students were suspended at or below their enrollment rates† [171] (see Figure 13). Nearly 50 years of research nationally has found a student's race is the most predictive attribute in explaining disciplinary disparities, even when controlling for student behavior.[172, 173] Frequent suspensions are associated with lower graduation rates, poorer job prospects, and increased rates of introduction to the justice system through a "school to prison pipeline"[174, 175] (see more in Criminal Legal System).

Teaching Honest History

In 2001, the Maine legislature passed a law establishing a requirement for Maine K–12 schools to teach students about the history, sovereignty, and contemporary culture of Wabanaki communities, following suit in 2021 with a similar law to teach African American history. But nearly 23 years later, a lack of resources and statewide enforcement to implement these programs means that curriculum is uneven across the state.[176] This contributes to incorrect assumptions about Maine's participation in the global slave trade and historical demographic make-up, and allows for widespread ignorance about Wabanaki people and culture, their rights as sovereign nations, and the false and harmful impression that Wabakai people no longer exist in Maine[177] For Wabanaki and African American students in Maine schools today, these omissions amount to the erasure of their culture and ancestors' history in the land they call home. For Maine's broader student body, these omissions allow students to graduate without critical knowledge and perspectives that can help them to engage meaningfully in relationships with their neighbors, classmates, and broader communities.

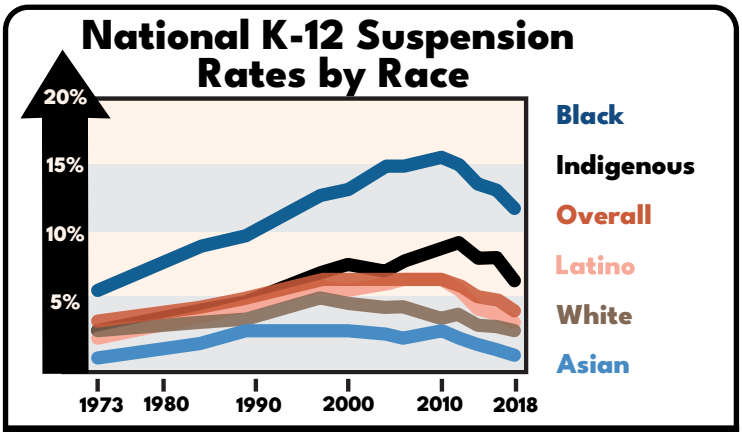

Figure 13. Black and Indigenous students are more likely to be suspended than other students. Adapted from Leung-Gagné, et al (2022).[183]

Disparities Beyond High School

For students who do complete high school, many choose to go on to attend higher education. While the racial gap in higher education has been closing in recent years,[178] we do see disparities emerge as a result of other systemic factors. Students from economically disadvantaged backgrounds, for example, enroll and graduate from college at significantly lower rates, and Mainers of color are disproportionately low-income‡ [179] (see more in Wealth and Income). Student debt compounds this issue. Today, Maine ranks 10th in the nation for highest average student debt ($32,764), and 8th for the number of students with debt (63%).[180] Maine has in recent years proven to be a leader in addressing the root causes of these disparities by providing the Free College Scholarship, which covers community college tuition and mandatory fees for recent high school graduates.[181] Programs like these have been proven to help all students, but in doing so, offer significant benefits to Black and Latino students who face systemic financial barriers to college access.[182]

QUICK FACTS:

Maine's current teacher pool is **more than 90% white.**

Maine is one of only three states where academic **achievement gap between Black and white students grew between 2000 and 2013.**

From 2013-2018, Black students in Maine were suspended at approximately **twice their enrollment rate.**

Indigenous students in Maine dropout of high school at **nearly twice the rate of both white and Black students.**

BACKGROUND CONTEXT & THEORY

Dufresne, S. (2018). *The history of institutional racism in US public schools.* Garn Press.

Morris, E. W., & Perry, B. L. (2016). The punishment gap: School suspension and racial disparities in achievement. *Social Problems,* 63(1), 68-86.

United States Government Accountability Office. (June, 2022). *Student population has significantly diversified, but many schools remain divided along racial, ethnic, and economic lines*. Report for the Chairman, Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representative.

NATIONAL-LEVEL DATA SOURCES

National Center for Education Statistics: Achievement Gaps.
US Department of Education: Office of Civil Rights Data on Equal Access to Education.
Stanford Center for Education Policy Analysis: Racial and Ethnic Achievement Gaps.

MAINE-SPECIFIC DATA SOURCES

New England Secondary School Consortium: Common Data Project 2022 Annual Report.
Maine Department of Education Data Warehouse.
National Center for Education Statistics: Maine Dashboard.
Maine Department of Education Student Enrollment Data.

†The most recent data are from the 2020-2021 school year, when 88% of schools in the US had switched to a hybrid of virtual and in-person instruction. These data show that the overall number of suspensions in Maine dropped, and that suspension rates for Black and Latino students fell below their enrollment rates, while Indigenous students were suspended at more than twice their enrollment rate. Interpretation of these data and comparison to past trends should consider the impacts of the pandemic on education.

‡College enrollment and graduation rates should be interpreted with caution due to small population sizes.

Criminal Legal System

Whether we're Black, white, brown, Indigenous or New Mainers, we all want to live in safe, healthy, and flourishing communities. When something happens to threaten that safety, we deserve systems that address the harm and allow our communities to heal and become whole again. Across the US, however, we rely on a punitive system of criminal justice founded on laws, policies, and practices that disproportionately target communities of color, offer little to those who are impacted by crime, and threaten the cohesion of communities and families. Perhaps most importantly, this system simply doesn't work. Today, lack of faith in our criminal legal system has resulted in nearly half of violent crimes in the US[184] and around two-thirds of violent crimes in Maine[185] going unreported for fear of long-term community impacts, retribution, or even violence at the hand of those sworn to protect and serve. Addressing the deep and systemic roots of racism in our criminal legal system will help to rectify past harms and create space for imagining new forms of justice that support rehabilitation, resilience, and community healing over perpetual punishment.

America's Criminal Legal System

Today the US is home to only 4% of the world's population but houses 16% of the world's incarcerated people.[186] Of currently incarcerated people, more than half are Black, Indigenous, or Latino.[187] This is not an accident of history, but instead, the outcome of structural biases within our criminal legal system.

The roots of today's criminal legal system in the US can be traced back to slavery. Some of the first policing forces in America were created to suppress uprisings of enslaved people and to capture and return those who had escaped.[188] Even after slavery was abolished in northern states in 1827, the New York City Kidnapping Club, comprised of judges, lawyers, police officers, and bankers, exploited loopholes in anti-slavery laws to kidnap free Black Americans and sell them into bondage.[189]

After the Emancipation Proclamation ended slavery in 1863, Southern states passed laws called "Black Codes." These laws limited the freedom of formerly enslaved people by making it illegal to be homeless or unemployed. These states then set up institutions to support the practice of "convict leasing," which allowed plantations and other corporations that had historically relied on slavery to "lease" those convicted of crimes to provide free labor.

The legal practice of convict leasing was abolished in 1941, but today, incarcerated people continue to provide substantial forms of labor with little compensation (today averaging between 13 and 52 cents an hour) and few protections against exploitation and abuse.[190] In some cases, these forms of labor also feed concerns around environmental justice, as incarcerated people are increasingly asked to take on high-risk work on the frontlines of the climate crisis, like fighting wildfires and other forms of disaster response[191] (see more in Environmental Justice).

While historic policies driving incarceration were often explicitly racist, today, the factors leading to racial disparities in our criminal legal system are more complex. Zero tolerance policies and increased use of school resource officers in public schools push children — especially children of color — out of schools and into the legal system at a young age, sometimes referred to as the school-to-prison pipeline[192] (see more in Public Education). National policies like the "War on Drugs" penalized different forms of the same drugs more or less harshly depending on their use, resulting in racial disparities in drug-related arrests and convictions.[193] Policies like stop and frisk and proactive policing create space for personal and institutional bias to enter into law enforcement, and today, conviction rates for the same crimes result in dramatically different sentencing depending on the defendant's race, class, and ethnicity.[194] And the results of these disparities go beyond disparate rates of incarceration. Police use of force remains among the leading causes of death for men of color between the ages of 20 and 35 years old.[195]

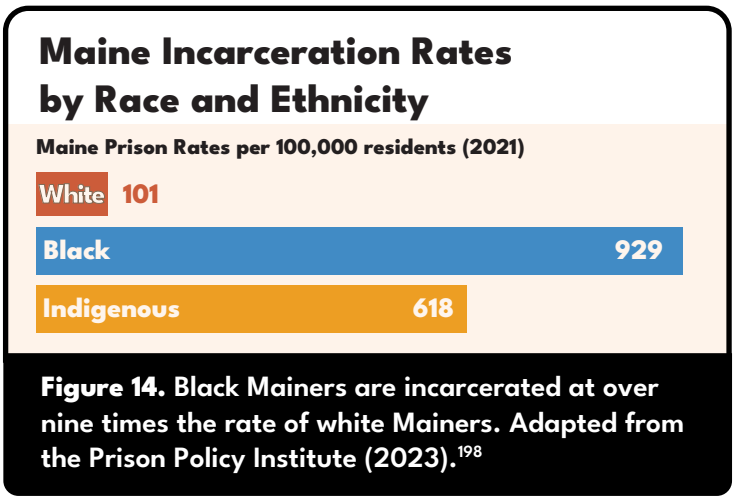

Figure 14. Black Mainers are incarcerated at over nine times the rate of white Mainers. Adapted from the Prison Policy Institute (2023).[198]

Incarceration in Maine: Racial Disparities

Maine experienced a 163% increase in incarceration between 1983 and 2015.[196] And today, the average annual cost for housing someone in a Maine state prison is around $78,000.[197] The state currently ranks 44th out of 50 for racial disparity in state prisons, with Black

Mainers incarcerated at over nine times, and Indigenous people incarcerated at over six times the rate of white Mainers (see Figure 14).[198] In Portland, the state's largest city, Black people account for 17% of all arrests, despite making up only 4% of the population, and are *significantly more likely to be arrested* if the incident was initiated by an officer than by a 911 call.[199]

Racial disparities are also evident in the proportion of drug-related arrests of people of color in Maine.[200] Research shows that Black people use illicit and illegal drugs at a similar rate to white people, but they are three and a half times more likely nationally to be arrested for drug possession charges.[201] In Maine, this has historically been exemplified in charges for marijuana possession, where the arrest rate was 2.1 times higher for Black Mainers than white Mainers in 2012, and up to four times higher in 2018. [202] The issue of racial disparities in incarceration is also deeply tied to Maine's housing crisis, which disproportionately impacts people of color. From 2018 to 2020, more than one third of arrests made in the city of Portland were people who were unhoused (see more in Housing).[203]

Collateral Consequences

33%

of formerly incarcerated people couldn't find work four years after release.[205]

Racial disparities embedded in the criminal legal system both stem from and factor into the broader structures of disparity and inequality in society. Just as people who are already marginalized are more likely to face incarceration, those who have been incarcerated are more likely to face challenges in finding stable housing, securing loans, completing their education, and finding stable work. A study conducted by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, for example, followed more than 50,000 people after their release from federal prison in 2010, and found that "33% found no employment at all over four years post-release, and at any given time, no more than 40% of the cohort was employed. People who did find jobs struggled, too: Formerly incarcerated people in the sample had an average of 3.4 jobs throughout the four-year study period, suggesting that they were landing jobs that didn't offer security or upward mobility."[204, 205] These issues are indeed present in Maine, where the 2022 Reintegration Report Card offered by the Collateral Consequence Resource Center ranked Maine 44 out of 50 states for laws restoring rights and opportunities after arrest and conviction. Maine had slipped back 5 places since the 2020 report.[206]

QUICK FACTS

Maine ranks 44th for Black-White disparity in state prisons.

Maine incarcerates Black people at a rate 9.2 times higher than white people.

Maine experienced a 163% increase in incarceration between 1983 and 2015.

The average annual cost for housing an inmate in Maine is $78,000.

BACKGROUND CONTEXT & THEORY

Alexander, M. (2010). *The New Jim Crow: Mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness.* The New Press, New York, NY.

Bass, S. (2001). Policing space, policing race: Social control imperatives and police discretionary decisions. *Social Justice,* 28 (83).

Brown, E., & Barganier, G. (2018). *Race and crime: Geographies of injustice.* University of California Press.

National Research Council. (2014). *The Growth of Incarceration in the United States: Exploring Causes and Consequences*. Eds. J. Travis, B. Western, &S. Redburn. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press.

Provine, D. M. (2011). Race and inequality in the war on drugs. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science,* 8.

NATIONAL-LEVEL DATA SOURCES

Otherness and Belonging Institute Racial Disparities Dashboard.
American Inequality: Violent Crime and Inequality.
The Sentencing Project: US Criminal Justice Data.
Bureau of Justice Statistics Annual Report (2021).
National Institute of Corrections National Data (2021).

MAINE-SPECIFIC DATA SOURCES

Maine Department of Corrections Reports and Statistical Data.
National Institute of Corrections: Maine's Justice System.
Prison Policy Institute: Maine Profile.

Food Security

Access to healthy, nutritious, and culturally appropriate foods is at the center of all human well-being. Food provides physical sustenance, cultural connection and identity, and opportunities for us as families and communities to come together. Food connects us to the land, water, and animals around us and is vital not only on an individual level, but to our state's economy and cultural identity as well. As Mainers, we know that all people regardless of age, race, or national origin deserve to have access to the food that sustains them, which is why in 2021, Mainers resoundingly passed an amendment to our state constitution noting our "natural, inherent and unalienable right" to "grow, raise, harvest, produce and consume food of [our] own choosing."[207] However, we also know that inequalities in our food system persist despite these shared values. Today, more than one in eight Mainers face insufficient food access, with Black, Latino, and Indigenous people the most significantly impacted. Understanding the drivers of these disparities and creating structural changes to address them is vital to improving the health and well-being of all people in our state.

Disparities in Food Access

Food insecurity is a prevalent issue across the U.S, with 12.8% of households reporting inability to meet their food needs at some point during 2022.[208] When disaggregated by race, however, those numbers show that disparities in food access are significant, with racial minorities experiencing twice the rate of food insecurity compared with white households.[209] Lack of access to healthy and nutritious food has serious chronic health impacts, including obesity, diabetes, heart disease, and mental health disorders (see more in Health & Healthcare). In children, food insecurity also hampers language and motor skills development and hurts school performance, leading to challenges with concentration and behavioral issues associated with hunger.[210, 211] Rates of childhood food insecurity are similarly high across the United States, and showcase similar levels of racial disparity[212] (see Figure 15).

The source of racial disparities in food security are complex and linked to other areas of systemic inequality. At its deepest level, access to food is tied deeply to access to land. Since the beginning of the 20th century, the number of Black farmers in the US has declined by 98%,[213] driven in large part by exclusionary USDA policies that prevented Black farmers from accessing critical loans and social programs that would have allowed them to stay on their land.[214] These policies had an impact in Maine as well; today, 95% of white farmers own the land that they farm, compared with only 11% of Black farmers.[215] While new federal and state programs have emerged to extend support to Black and other minority farmers, distrust of government programs continues to shape who voluntarily accesses these opportunities.

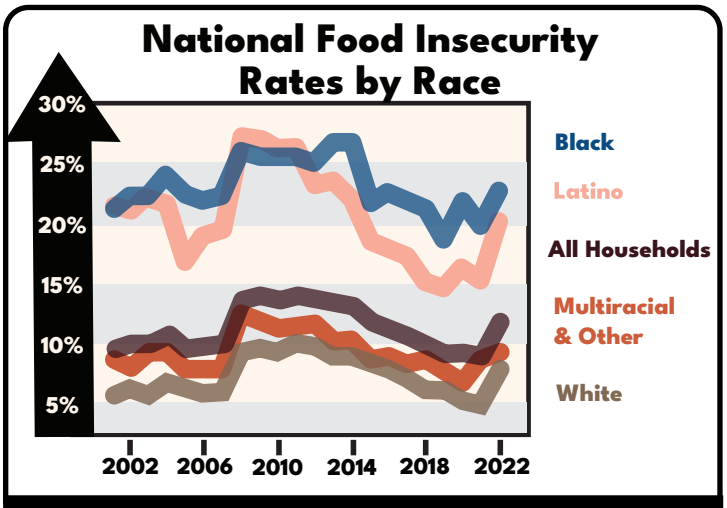

Figure 15. Black and Latino households face far higher rates of food insecurity than white households. Adapted from Rabbitt, et al, (2023).[212]

Farmland, however, is not the only factor driving disparities in food access today. Through a process of what food activist Karen Washington describes as "food apartheid," historic government policies and programs like red-lining and exclusionary zoning have created segregated access to food in the US.[216] Today, communities of color in low-income census tracts have up to 50% fewer supermarkets than in wealthier communities,[217] and even fewer have access to *culturally-appropriate foods* that support community flourishing.

Limited public transit options and higher costs to car ownership for people of color, make it even more difficult for marginalized communities to access affordable, healthy food (see more in Transportation). And for individuals working multiple jobs or long hours to support their families — which disproportionately includes people of color — time cost can be significant as well (see more in Employment & Workers). In addition, social programs like SNAP (Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program) and WIC (Women, Infants, and Children Program) exist to help very low-income households with food costs,

but research suggests that as many as one-third of food-insecure households[218] do not qualify based on the income, resource, work, and citizenship requirements.[219] Rising food costs across the country have created significant barriers in access to healthy foods for all people, but the consistent rate of disparity in access illustrates that this issue has structural causes as well.[220]

Food Insecurity in Maine

In Maine, which had the highest average rate of food insecurity in New England in recent years,[221] one in eight people and one in five children faced hunger in 2022.[222] Similarly to national trends, rates of food insecurity are disproportionately high in racial and ethnic minority populations. The rate of food insecurity in households of color in Maine is 28%, and in Black households is 40%,[223] both multiple times the rate of food insecurity in white households (13%).[224] These rates of food insecurity are particularly high among Maine's migrant farmworker populations, where national studies suggest food insecurity ranges from 37% to 64%.[225, 226, 227] Exclusion from minimum wage laws, inability to negotiate for better working conditions, rural geography, and temporary work authorizations that limit access to federal programs all contribute to the lack of food security in these communities[228, 229] (see more in Employment & Workers).

Wabanaki people face additional, unique barriers to food security. Centuries of colonial land theft and exploitation displaced Wabanaki people from the land, decimated Maine's rivers, forests, and natural environment, and destroyed traditional Indigenous practices, contributing to contemporary food insecurity.[230] Damming along Maine's rivers decimated native fish populations, and PFAS and other chemical contamination in Maine's rivers and farmlands continues to limit Wabanaki food access[231] (see more in Environmental Justice). The state government's continued refusal to acknowledge tribal sovereignty also limits Indigenous access to traditional food and is a primary driver of poverty in Wabanaki communities[232] (see more in Wabanaki Self-Determination).While community supported programs and state food subsidies are vital to protecting those most vulnerable, tackling the root causes of the food crisis is imperative to helping Maine communities thrive.

QUICK FACTS:

12.8% of households in the US and about **12.5% of households in Maine** faced hunger in 2022.

Communities of color in low-income areas have **50% fewer grocery stores** than wealthy neighborhoods.

Up to one third of households do not qualify for federal assistance with food costs.

In Maine, the rate of hunger in **Black households is 40% compared to 13% in white households.**

BACKGROUND CONTEXT & THEORY

Clapp, J. & Moseley, W.G. (2020). This food crisis is different: COVID-19 and the fragility of the neoliberal food security order. *The Journal of Peasant Studies,* DOI: 10.1080/03066150.2020.1823838

Morales, D.X., Morales, S.A. & Beltran, T.F. (2021). Racial/Ethnic disparities in household food insecurity during the COVID-19 pandemic: A nationally representative study. *Journal of Racial and Ethnic Health Disparities 8,* 1300–1314.

Reynolds, B.J. (2002). *Black farmers in America, 1865-2000: The pursuit of independent farming and the role of cooperatives*. Rural Business–Cooperative Service.

Walker, R.J., Garacci, E., Dawson, A.Z., Williams, J.S., Ozieh, M., & Egede, L.E. (2021). Trends in food insecurity in the United States from 2011-2017: Disparities by age, sex, race/ethnicity, and income. *Population Health Management,* 24(4). 446-501.

NATIONAL-LEVEL DATA SOURCES

USDA Report: Household Food Security in the United States in 2022
Feeding America: Map the Meal Gap 2024.
Food Insecurity Increased in 2022, with Severe Impact on Households with Children and Ongoing Racial Inequities.
National Institutes of Health: Food Accessibility, Insecurity and Health Outcomes.

MAINE-SPECIFIC DATA SOURCES

Feeding America: Maine Facts.
Center on Budget and Policy Priorities: Maine State SNAP Fact Sheet.
Maines' Roadmap to End Hunger.
USDA Maine Fact Sheet.

Wabanaki Self-Determination

People in Maine know that our communities thrive when we have the ability to choose our own paths. The Wabanaki, who have called this land home for thousands of years, know this too. However, unlike all other federally-recognized tribes across the country, Wabanaki Nations' sovereign right to self-determination is not recognized by the state of Maine, impacting Wabanaki peoples' access to critical resources and opportunities for prosperity.[233] The federal 1980 Maine Indian Claims Settlement Act and state Implementing Law have created persistent barriers to Wabanaki people's ability to access federal resources, social programs, and economic opportunities, and decide for themselves how best to govern their communities. As a result of the failure of the state to recognize tribal sovereignty and in the shadow of a history of displacement and cultural genocide, trust has eroded between the state of Maine and Wabanaki people.[234] Elsewhere across the nation, Indigenous self-governance has led to significant improvements in the well-being of tribal communities. And when these communities flourish, the benefits extend beyond tribal borders to surrounding communities. Recognizing the inherent right to self-determinatination would bring new economic and social opportunities to all of Maine's communities.

What is Tribal Sovereignty?

Sovereignty refers to the authority of a people or state to self-govern.[235] Tribal sovereignty refers to the inherent right of Indigenous nations to make their own decisions on behalf of their people, a right that is affirmed by treaties, the US constitution,[236] the Supreme Court,[237] and the United Nations.[238] The federal government currently recognizes 574 tribes as sovereign nations distinct from the United States,[239] including five Wabanaki communities: the Penobscot Nation, Passamaquoddy Tribe at Motahkomikuk - Indian Township, and Sipayik - Pleasant Point, Mi'kmaq Nation, and Houlton Band of Maliseet Indians. Despite this federal recognition, however, a set of laws unique to Maine have allowed the state to block access to the benefits of self-determination for Wabanaki Nations.

The state of Maine's treatment of the Wabanaki Nations today is founded on two policies — the federal Maine Indian Claims Settlement Act of 1980 and the corresponding state Implementing Law (collectively referred to as the Settlement Acts). These two laws were intended to resolve a dispute between the federal and state governments over Maine's illegal acquisition, distribution, and sale of over 12 million acres of Wabanaki land to corporations and private citizens, including for the development of Routes 1 and 190. In total, this land was equivalent to approximately two-thirds of Maine's total landmass.[240, 241, 242] The Settlement Acts sought to redress the Wabanaki Nations' land claims by having the tribes surrender the rights to these lands in exchange for a federally-funded pathway to purchase a small percentage of that land back. The Settlement Acts also established the state's ability to block the applicability of federal Indian Law in Maine, and in effect, severely inhibit Wabanaki self-governance.[243, 244] Wabanaki Nations have never regained access to the lands promised to them under these bills.[245] Maine's unique ability to restrict tribal sovereignty, however, has proven a powerful political instrument, with profoundly negative consequences for Wabanaki Nations and their neighboring communities.[246]

The decline in the rights of Wabanaki Nations coincided directly with the growth in federal recognition of tribal sovereignty outside of Maine in the early 1980s. A period of relatively significant economic growth* in tribal nations followed[247] — where per-capita income increased by an average of 68% between 1989 and 2018 (see Figure 16). This growth is observed regardless of population size and geography, and is attributed to tribes exercising self-determination in the form of economic diversification. Expansion of the gaming industry as well as new opportunities for healthcare, agriculture, food processing, tourism, and construction contracts bolstered economic opportunity alongside the renewed management and sale of natural resources such as coal, oil, gas, timber, and hydropower. With these new economic opportunities came improvements in housing, employment, child poverty, and community health across underserved rural areas. Today, around 70-90% of jobs supported by tribal economies are held by non-tribal citizens — benefiting nearby rural communities.[248]

*"Relative" economic growth is worth emphasizing. Kalt discusses that while the economic growth in Indian Country during this period is substantial, the severe economic hardship experienced by ribes due to centuries of oppression will only be overcome with many more decades of exceptional growth.

As a result of the Settlement Acts, however, economic growth during this same period was significantly lower for Wabanaki Nations. The 151 laws passed by the federal government to benefit tribes since 1980 have largely bypassed Wabanaki peoples,[249] limiting access to federal resources and funding for disaster relief, environmental regulation, and other programs that could improve life for tribal citizens and their neighbors in some of the most rural parts of Maine.[250]

However, the theft of Wabanaki land and the failure to recognize their sovereign rights to management and steward the forest, waters, and wildlife in their communities is not simply of economic concern. The restrictions on Wabanaki Nations' ability to purchase land associated with the Settlement Acts, as well as the state's lack of recognition of tribal sovereignty, has also severely limited access to traditional sustenance practices — especially around access to fish and wildlife. Experience outside of Maine suggests that tribal governments are able to meet social, economic, and environmental goals of sustainable land and waterway management when their rights to manage land and resources are recognized and supported.[251, 252]

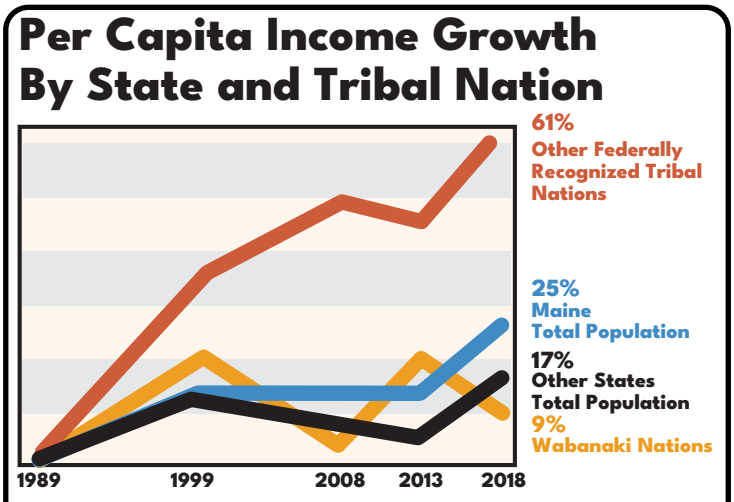

Figure 16. Tribal Nations outside of Maine experienced high rates of economic growth following federal recognition of tribal sovereignty. Adapted from Kalt, et al (2022).[248]

Task Force Recommendations on Changes to the Maine Indian Claims Settlement Implementation Act

A recent poll shows that 89% of Mainers support policies that recognize Wabanaki self-determination by the state of Maine, spanning all political affiliations and state geographies.[253] The 129th Legislature acknowledged the impact of failure to recognize tribal sovereignty on disparities between Wabanaki Nations and neighboring communities.[254] Furthermore, multiple decades of reports, task forces, and commissions brought together by the state of Maine have recognized the strain on tribal-state relations, due to centuries of injustice that continue through the Settlement Acts, and proposed paths forward for remedying this issue.[255] The most recent, and perhaps most prominent of these, the bipartisan 2019 Task Force on Changes to the Maine Indian Claims Settlement Implementing Act, created a series of 22 consensus recommendations that address specific provisions in the Settlement Acts that have caused conflict and legal battles between Wabanaki Nations and the state over the last 43 years.[256] The recommendations include provisions to recognize the Wabanaki Nations' authority to regulate natural resources, land use, and hunting and fishing on tribal lands; to recognize the authority and jurisdiction of tribal courts in Maine as described in federal law; to recognize federal tax law, which exempts the tribes from state and local taxes and confirms their right to tax on tribal lands; to clarify that federal laws that benefit the tribes should apply in Maine; and, to recognize that the tribes can acquire lands in accordance with federal law.[257] In short, the 22 consensus recommendations would effectively recognize the sovereignty of Wabanaki Nations, a status that is afforded to all other federally-recognized tribes in the country. Despite many opportunities to implement these and other similar recommendations, Maine has made only marginal changes to improve conditions for Wabanki communities. Much work remains to be done.

BACKGROUND CONTEXT & THEORY

Friederichs, N. (2017). *The drafting and enactment of the Maine Indian Claims Settlement Act*. Maine Indian Tribal-State Commission.

Hinton, M.C.F., Giles, E.J. (2022). Eli-Tpitahatomek Tpaskuwakonol Waponahkik (How we, Native People, reflect on the law in the Dawnland). *Maine Law Review.*

Kalt, J., Medford, A., & Taylor, J. (2022). American Indian self-determination through self-governance: The only policy that ever worked. *The Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development.*

Environmental Justice

Maine is a state well-known for its natural beauty and abundance. We are home to 17 million acres of forested land, nearly 3,500 miles of coastline, and more than 2,500 fresh-water lakes and estuaries. Our thriving ecology sustains Maine's human population by bolstering our economy and supporting public health and wellness. As Mainers, we know that our well-being is intimately tied to the land, but today, the benefits of healthy air, water, and wildlife are not evenly distributed across our state. Environmental Justice refers to the idea that all people deserve equal access to the benefits associated with their environments, and equal protection from environmental harms and hazards.[258] Achieving this goal requires addressing deep-rooted inequalities in power, wealth, and access to spaces of decision-making.[259] While Maine has rarely been at the epicenter of national discussions around environmental justice, it has not been immune to these challenges either.

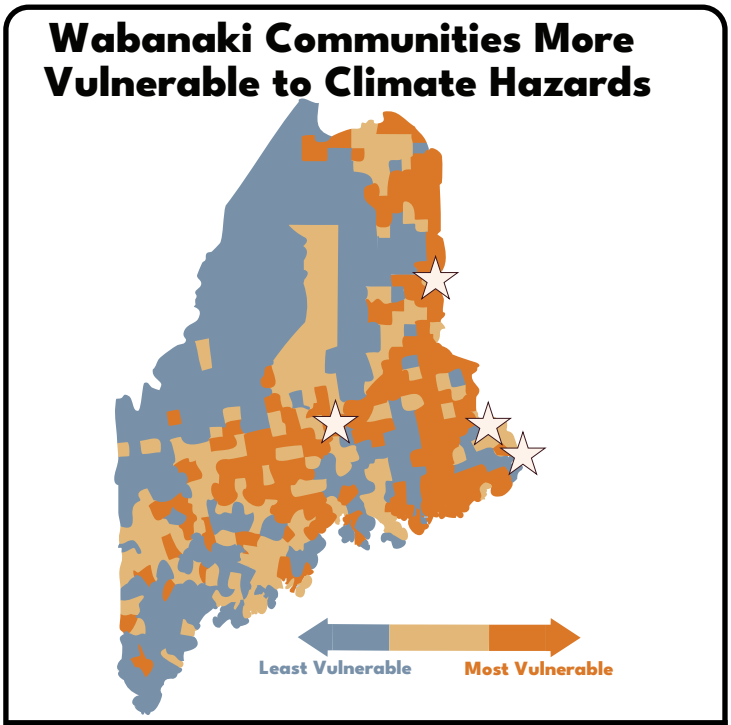

Figure 17. Wabanaki communities and others in rural Maine are particularly vulnerable to climate impacts because of the lack of infrastructure in these areas. Adapted from Eastern Research Group (2020). [281]

Climate Impacts and Adaptations

With miles of coast lines, flood prone rivers, and an economy built on agriculture, fisheries, and forest management, Maine is a state particularly susceptible to the impacts from climate change. Extensive research shows that climate impacts fall disproportionately to people of color — both globally and within the US[260] The reasons for this disproportionality in impacts, however, are not ecological but social. At the collective level, more affluent communities have the capital to invest in adaptive infrastructure like seawalls, building renovations, and transportation infrastructure, resulting in lower rates of social vulnerability.[261] In Maine, as in other communities across the US, these affluent communities are predominantly white, while Black, Latino, and Indigenous communities tend to have lower socio-economic standing and higher rates of vulnerability to climate impacts. Climate change also has direct impacts on individuals, where for example, extreme weather events like heat waves, hurricanes, and wildfires leave those already vulnerable — especially unhoused populations, those without economic means, and those with existing health complications — more at risk [262] (see more in Housing, Wealth and Income, and Health & Healthcare). In Maine, these vulnerabilities compound for people of color, who often live in flood prone areas in aging subprime housing and lack transportation infrastructure to evacuate during storm events. Lack of social capital and community connection for Maine's minority populations also reduces capacity among these populations for responding to environmental crises. As seen in Figure 17, Wabanaki tribes score particularly high on the social vulnerability index, a measure of a communities ability to bounce back after a disaster event.[263] In this case, the tribes ability to respond to extreme weather events is limited both by socio-economic factors and rural infrastructure, and by their inability to access federal benefits as a result of Maine's failure to recognize Wabanaki Nations' inherent right to self-determination (see more in Wabanaki Self-Determination).

Sea Run Fisheries and Wabanaki Food Systems

Dams have been part of Maine's industrial infrastructure since the early days of colonial settlement. Today, over 1,000 dams exist in Maine rivers, providing hydroelectricity, flood control, and irrigation.[264] These dams have become integral to Maine's economy, recreation, and identity, but have also proven detrimental to sea-run fish like alewives, shad, and salmon, which have been pushed to the brink of extinction due to obstructions that block their access to critical spawning

habitat.[265] These are also species of great importance to the culture, economy, and livelihood of Wabanaki people - particularly the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy. While the Passamaquoddy Tribe and Penobscot Nation maintain some fishing rights under the Settlement Acts,[266] their ability to realize these rights has been limited by the scarcity of fish, leading to ongoing disputes and distrust.

In response to these concerns, Indigenous activists have led the charge for dam removal to restore sea run fisheries across Maine. While some efforts have been met with great success — the removal of the Edwards Dam in 1999 and Fort Halifax Dam in 2008 led to an over 1,000% increase in river herring in the Kennebec River[267] — others have faced sharp opposition. Four dams along the Kennebec River — owned by a Canadian hydroelectric company called Brookfield Renewable Partners — today stand at the center of a state-wide debate about the future of Maine's rivers. The dams collectively provide just 3% of the state's renewable electricity, but have also become part of the physical and economic infrastructures of these communities.[268,269] Wabanaki and non-Indigenous conservationists have advocated for the removal of dams, while Brookfield has strongly opposed these efforts and worked closely alongside state and federal actors to ensure they stay standing. As this debate unfolds, ensuring fair and equal access to the decision-making process, particularly for Wabanaki people who depend upon these species for sustenance, will be paramount.

Juniper Ridge Landfill

The Juniper Ridge Landfill is situated between two tributaries of the Penobscot River just north of Penobscot Nation territory. With a footprint of 122 acres,[270] Juniper Ridge receives more than 50 percent of all waste disposed of in Maine every year.[271] The landfill may soon become even larger, as the state's contracted landfill operator is seeking to expand its footprint by 61 acres, approximately a 150 percent increase.[272] Juniper Ridge represents a confluence of environmental justice issues. When it was created in 1988, the landfill was intended to manage waste streams from a single papermill in Old Town. Since then its use has grown to become what some call "the dumping ground of New England."[273] While Maine law explicitly reserves the use of state-owned landfills for the disposal of waste generated within the state of Maine,[274] the landfill's contracted operator has long deposited substantial quantities of out-of–state waste at Juniper Ridge – past estimates suggest that a third of waste delivered to the landfill comes from out of state[275]. The Maine Legislature sought to close this loophole in 2022, only to re-approve disposal of out-of-state waste in 2023 due to landfill stabilization concerns.[276] Local residents have opposed the continued expansion of the landfill and the disposal of out-of-state waste for decades, but to date, little little has changed, with attempts to make progress have been met with setbacks.[277]

Most recently, the site has been found to be a significant source of pollution runoff, including PCB, Dioxin, DDT, and PFAS[278] — a category of pollution also known as "forever chemicals" because of their inability to break down in the environment. PFAS became a known major environmental issue in Maine early in the 2020s, when it was discovered that fresh water and agricultural lands throughout the state were contaminated with the toxin.[279] PFAS, when ingested, is known to cause liver and kidney function issues, pregnancy complications, and increased risks of cancer among other issues.[280] It is also known to bioaccumulate, meaning that the toxin is amplified through the food chain. In 2021, Maine's Department of Inland Fisheries and Wildlife issued its first "do not eat" advisory for fish and game in central Maine, with many of those advisories still in place across the state today. As the state undertakes emergency measures to address the PFAS crisis, the disproportionate risk that falls to populations reliant upon game and fish for sustenance and cultural practice - including citizens of Penobscot Nation living downstream from Juniper Ridge - are frequently overlooked.

BACKGROUND CONTEXT & THEORY

Bullard, R. D. (1993). Race and environmental justice in the United States. *Yale J. Int'l L.*, 18, 319.

Frosch, R. M., Pastor, M., Sadd, J., & Shonkoff, S. (2018). The climate gap: Inequalities in how climate change hurts Americans and how to close the gap. In *Planning for Climate Change* (pp. 138-150). Routledge.

McGregor, D., Whitaker, S., & Sritharan, M. (2020). Indigenous environmental justice and sustainability. *Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability*, 43, 35-40.

Mohai, P., Pellow, D., & Roberts, J. T. (2009). Environmental justice. *Annual review of environment and resources*, 34(1), 405-430.

NATIONAL-LEVEL DATA SOURCES

US CDC Environmental Justice Index.
US EPA Environmental Justice Screening and Mapping Tool.
US Climate Resilience Toolkit: Social Vulnerability Index.

MAINE-SPECIFIC DATA SOURCES

Northeast Climate Adaptation Science Center.
Maine Climate Science Portal (Maine Climate Action).
University of Maine: Maine's Climate Futures 2020 Update.
Scientific Assessment of Climate Change and Its Effects in Maine - Maine Climate Council.

References

1 Government Alliance on Race & Equity. (2018, May 18). GARE Communications Guide, 37 - 38. https://www.racialequityalliance.org/viewdocument/gare-communications-guide-1

2 Braveman, P., Arkin, E., Proctor, D., Kauh, T. & Holm, N. (2022). Systemic And Structural Racism: Definitions, Examples, Health Damages, And Approaches To Dismantling. Health Affairs. https://www.healthaffairs.org/doi/10.1377/hlthaff.2021.01394

3 Di, Z.X., & Yang, Y. (2002). Intergenerational wealth transfer and its impact on housing. Joint Center for Housing Studies, Harvard University. https://www.jchs.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/media/imp/di_w02-2.pdf

4 Ralli, M., et al. (2020). "Homeless persons and migrants in precarious housing conditions and COVID-19 pandemic: peculiarities and prevention strategies." European Review for Medical and Pharmacological Sciences. 24.18; 9765-9767.

5 Fowler, P. J., & Farrell, A. F. (2017). Housing and child well being: implications for research, policy, and practice. *American Journal of Community Psychology*. 60(1-2), 3-8.

6 Gotoff et al. (2024). Public Awareness and Perceptions of Disparities in Maine: Analysis of Survey Findings. A report to the Permanent Commission on the Status of Racial, Indigenous, and Tribal Populations.

7 MaineHousing. (October 2023). *State of Maine Housing Production Needs Study*. https://rb.gy/5gii8

8 Ibid.

9 US Census Bureau (2023). Quarterly Vacancy and Homeownership Rates by State and MSA. Table 1. Rental Vacancy Rates by State: 2005 - present. https://www.census.gov/housing/hvs/data/rates.html

10 America's Health Rankings. (2022). Homeownership racial disparity. https://www.americashealthrankings.org/explore/measures/homeownership_disparity/ME#

11 MaineHousing. (October 2023). *State of Maine Housing Production Needs Study*. https://rb.gy/5gii8

12 Rothstein, R. (2017). *The color of law: A forgotten history of how our government segregated America*. Liveright Publishing.

13 Bachaud, N. (2022). Black mortgage applicants denied 84% more often than white borrowers. Zillow. https://www.zillow.com/research/black-denial-rate-hmda-2020-30510/

14 MaineHousing. (2023). *2023 Point in time count*. https://rb.gy/x0frf

15 Gotoff et al. (2024). Public Awareness and Perceptions of Disparities in Maine: Analysis of Survey Findings. A report to the Permanent Commission on the Status of Racial, Indigenous, and Tribal Populations.

16 MaineHousing, Governor's Office of Policy Innovation and the Future, Maine Department of Economic and Community Development. (2023). *State of Maine Housing Production Needs Study.* https://rb.gy/5gii8

17 Gotoff et al. (2024). Public Awareness and Perceptions of Disparities in Maine: Analysis of Survey Findings. A report to the Permanent Commission on the Status of Racial, Indigenous, and Tribal Populations.

18 Boerma, J., & Karabarbounis, L. (2023). Reparations and persistent racial wealth gaps. *NBER Macroeconomics*. Annual, 37(1), 171-221.

19 Schaeffer, Katherine. (2021). 'What's the difference between income and wealth?' And other common questions about economic concepts. Decoded (blog), Pew Research Center. Accessed December 22, 2023.

20 Miller, M. C. (2011). Land and racial wealth inequality. *American Economic Review*. 101(3), 371-376.

21 Novak, D. A. (2014). *The wheel of servitude: Black forced labor after slavery*. University Press of Kentucky.

22 Lui, M. (2006). *The color of wealth: The story behind the US racial wealth divide.* The New Press.

23 Oliver, M., & Shapiro, T. (2013). *Black wealth/white wealth: A new perspective on racial inequality*. Routledge.

24 Shapiro, T., Meschede, T., & Osoro, S. (2013). *The roots of the widening racial wealth gap: Explaining the Black-white economic divide*. Research and Policy Brief. Institute on Assets and Social Policy, Brandeis University.

25 US Department of Labor. (2020). Earnings disparities by race and ethnicity. https://www.dol.gov/agencies/ofccp/about/data/earnings/race-and-ethnicity

26 US Department of Labor. (2020). Earnings disparities by sex. https://www.dol.gov/agencies/ofccp/about/data/earnings/gender

27 US Census Bureau. (2023). Median Household Income in the past 12 months (in 2022 inflation adjusted dollars). American Community Survey, ACS 1-Year Estimates Subject Tables, Table B19013. https://data.census.gov/table?q=B19013

28 US Census Bureau, US Department of Commerce. (2023). Median Income in the Past 12 Months (in 2023 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars). American Community Survey, ACS 1-Year Estimates Subject Tables, Table S1903. https://data.census.gov/table/ACSST1Y2023.S1903?q=Maine&t=Income and Poverty&y=2023.

29 Kalt, J., Medford, A.B & Taylor, J.B. (2022). *Economic and Social Impacts of Restrictions on the Applicability of Federal Indian Policies to the Wabanaki Nations in Maine*. The Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development.

30 Perry, A., Stephens, H., & Donoghoe, M. (2024). Black wealth is increasing, but so is the racial wealth gap. *Brookings Institute*.

31 America's Health Rankings. (2022). Homeownership racial disparity. https://www.americashealthrankings.org/explore/measures/homeownership_disparity/ME#

32 Baradaran, M. (2017). *The color of money: Black banks and the racial wealth gap*. Harvard University Press.

33 Aladangady, A., & Forde, A. (2021, October 22). Wealth Inequality and the Racial Wealth Gap. FEDS Notes. https://www.federalreserve.gov/econres/notes/feds-notes/wealth-inequality-and-the-racial-wealth-gap-20211022.html

34 Burgard, S.A., & Lin, K.Y. (2013). Bad jobs, bad health? How work and working conditions contribute to health disparities. *American Behavioral Scientist*. 57(8).

35 Price, R.H, Choi, J.N., & Vinkur, A.D. (2002). Links in the chain of adversity following job loss: How financial strain and loss of personal control lead to depression, impaired functioning, and poor health. *Journal of Occupational Health and Psychology*. 7(4).

36 Möller, J., Theorell, T., Faire, U., Ahlbom, A., & Hallqvist, J. (2005). Work related stressful life events and the risk of myocardial infarction. Case-control and case-crossover analyses within the Stockholm heart epidemiology programme (SHEEP). *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*. 59.

37 Myall, J., & Moretto, M. (2019). *State of Working Maine 2019*. Maine Center for Economic Policy. https://www.mecep.org/maines-economy/state-of-working-maine-2019/

38 Perea, J.F. (2011). The echoes of slavery: Recognizing the racist origins of the agricultural and domestic worker exclusion from the national labor relations act. *Loyola University Chicago, School of Law*.

39 Andrias, K. (2019). An American approach to social democracy: The forgotten promise of the fair labor standards act. *The Yale Law Journal*. 128(3), p. 626.

40 The National Agricultural Law Center. (n.d.). Collective bargaining rights for farmworkers. https://nationalaglawcenter.org/collective-bargaining-rights-for-farmworkers/

41 National Domestic Workers Alliance. (n.d.). Domestic workers bill of rights. https://www.domesticworkers.org/programs-and-campaigns/developing-policy-solutions/domestic-workers-bill-of-rights/

42 Gotoff et al. (2024). Public Awareness and Perceptions of Disparities in Maine: Analysis of Survey Findings. A report to the Permanent Commission on the Status of Racial, Indigenous, and Tribal Populations.

43 Byrd, N.Z. (2010). The dirty side of domestic work: An underground economy and the exploitation of undocumented workers. *DePaul Journal for Social Justice*. 3(2), p. 246-247.

44 Barrick, K. (2016). Human trafficking, labor exploitation, and exposure to environmental hazards: The abuse of farmworkers in the US. In J.F. Donnermeyer (Eds.). *The Routledge International Handbook of Rural Criminology*.

45 Seabury, S.A., Terp, S., & Boden, L.I. (2017). Racial and ethnic differences in the frequency of workplace injuries and prevalence of work-related injury. *Health Affairs*. 36(2), p. 266-273.

46 Flores, L.A. (2023). Wreathed in worry, pining for protection: Latino forestry workers and historical traumas in Maine. *The Journal of American History*. 109(4), p. 828-854.

47 Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2022). Number and rate of fatal work injuries, by industry sector. https://www.bls.gov/charts/census-of-fatal-occupational-injuries/number-and-rate-of-fatal-work-injuries-by-industry.htm

48 Carter, V.J. (2011). Maine's food-related workforce: Characteristics and challenges. *Maine Policy Review.* 20(1), p. 189-208.

49 Rogers, T.N., et al. (2020). Racial disparities in COVID-19 mortality among essential workers in the United States. *World Medical and Health Policy*. 12(3), p. 311-327.

50 Miller, K. (2020, June 21). Maine has nation's worst COVID-19 racial disparity. *Portland Press Herald.*

51 Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2023). Labor force characteristics by race and ethnicity, 2021. https://www.bls.gov/opub/reports/race-and-ethnicity/2021/home.htm.

52 Maine Center for Workforce Research and Information. (2023). Labor force statistics by geography. https://www.maine.gov/labor/cwri/laus1.html

53 Moore, K.K. (2024). The fourth quarter of 2023 saw some group- and state-specific unemployment rates rise slightly as nationwide rates remained low. *Economic Policy Institute*. https://www.epi.org/indicators/state-unemployment-race-ethnicity/

54 Pager, D., Western, B. & Bonikowski, B. (2009). Discrimination in a low-wage labor market: A field experiment. *American Sociological Review*. 74(5), p. 777-799.

55 Bertrand, M., & Mullainathan, S. (2004). Are Emily and Greg more employable than Lakisha and Jamal? A field experiment on labor market discrimination. *American Economic Review*. 94(4), p. 991-1013.

56 Pedulla, D.S., & Pager, D. (2019). Race and networks in the job search process. *American Sociological Review*. 84(6).

57 Myall, J. (2023). *State of Working Maine 2023*. Maine Center for Economic Policy. https://www.mecep.org/maines-economy/state-of-working-maine-2023/

58 American Public Transportation Association. (2020). *Economic Impact of Public Transportation Investment*. https://www.apta.com/wp-content/uploads/APTA-Economic-Impact-Public-Transit-2020.pdf

59 Litman, T. (2013). Transportation and Public Health. *Annual Review of Public Health*. 22(20). todresources.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/arph_litman_2012.pdf

60 Rooks, J. (2024, January 30). State Transportation Plan. [Radio Broadcast]. *Maine Public*.

61 Maine Department of Transportation. (2024). Three-Year Work Plan 2024 Edition. https://www.maine.gov/mdot/projects/workplan/docs/2024/2024_Work_Plan_Final.pdf.

62 Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2024). Used cars and trucks US city average, all urban consumers, not seasonally adjusted. https://data.bls.gov/timeseries/CUUR0000SETA02?output_view=data

63 US Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2024). Consumer price index for all urban consumers: New vehicles US city average. [CUUR0000SETA01]. Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis.https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/CUUR0000SETA01

64 Maine Department of Transportation. (2022). *MaineDOT Statement on Equity*. www1.maine.gov/mdot/publications/docs/2022/MaineDOTEquityStatement6-5-22.pdf

65 Archer. D.N. (2020). "White men's roads through Black men's homes": Advancing racial equity through highway reconstruction. *Vanderbilt Law Review*. 73(5), p. 1259-1330.

66 Portland Slum Clearance and Redevelopment Authority. (1959). *Vine-Deer-Chatham Project: Relocation, a Community Effort*. Individual Documents. 11. https://digitalcommons.portlandlibrary.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1010&context=citydocs_documents

67 Portland Renewal Authority. (1961). *Portland Renewal: A Decade of Planning and Progress, 1951-1961*. Individual Documents. 10. https://digitalcommons.portlandlibrary.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1009&context=citydocs_documents

68 Franklin Street Arterial Committee. (2009). *Reclaiming Franklin Street: Report of the Franklin Street Arterial Committee*. Individual Documents. 15. https://digitalcommons.portlandlibrary.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1014&context=citydocs_documents

69 Park, Y.M., & Kwan, M. (2020). Understanding racial disparities in exposure to traffic-related air pollution: Considering the spatiotemporal dynamics of population distribution. *Environmental Research and Public Health*. 17(3).

70 Jones. M.R., et al. (2014). Race/ethnicity, residential segregation, and exposure to ambient air pollution: The multi-ethnic study of atherosclerosis (MESA). *American Journal of Public Health*. 104(11), p. 2130-2137.

71 O'Neill, M.S., et al. (2003). Health, wealth, and air pollution: Advancing theory and methods. *Environmental Health Perspectives*. 111(16), p. 1861-1870.

72 Assari, S., & Lankarani, M.M. (2018). Poverty status and childhood asthma in white and Black families, national survey of children's health. *Healthcare*. 6(62).

73 McConnell, R., et al. (2006). Traffic, susceptibility, and childhood asthma. *Environmental Health Perspectives*. 114(5).

74 Schuyler, A.J., & Wenzel, S.E. (2022). Historical redlining impacts contemporary environmental and asthma-related outcomes in Black adults. *American Journal of Respiratory and Critical Care Medicine*. 206(7), p. 824-837.

75 Boemer, T.K., Foster, S.L., Henry, J.R., Woghiren-Akinnifesi, E.L., & Yip, F.Y. (2013). *Residential proximity to major highways – United States, 2010*. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report. 62(3).

76 United States Environmental Protection Agency. (2023). Research on near roadway and other near source air pollution. https://www.epa.gov/air-research/research-near-roadway-and-other-near-source-air-pollution

77 Durry, I. (2023, May 16). Used Car Prices Remain Stubbronly High. *Edmunds*. https://www.edmunds.com/car-news/used-car-prices-remain-stubbornly-high-q1-2023.html

78 Bureau of Transportation Statistics. (2024, July 2). The household cost of transportation: Is it affordable? https://www.bts.gov/data-spotlight/household-cost-transportation-it-affordable.

79 Feltner, T., Heller, D. (2015). High Price of Mandatory Auto Insurance in Predominantly African American Communities. *Consumer Federation of America*. https://consumerfed.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/151118_insuranceinpredominantlyafricanamericancommunities_CFA.pdf

80 Butler, A.W., Mayer, E.J., & Weston, J.P. (2023). Racial disparities in the auto loan market. *The Review of Financial Studies*. 36, p. 1-41.

81 Heaps, W., Abramsohn, E., & Skillen, E. (2021). Public transportation in the US: A driver of health and equity. *Health Affairs*. www.healthaffairs.org/do/10.1377/hpb20210630.810356/

82 Woldeamenuel, M. (2012). Evaluating the competitiveness of intercity buses in terms of sustainability indicators. *Journal of Public Transportation*. 15(3), p. 77-96.

83 American Public Transportation Association. (2020). *Economic Impact of Public Transportation Investment*.

84 Eichacker, C. (2021, December 21). Public transit in rural Maine is sparse. Improving it could help the state fight climate change. *Maine Public*. https://www.mainepublic.org/environment-and-outdoors/2021-12-21/public-transit-in-rural-maine-is-sparse-adding-more-could-help-the-state-fight-climate-change

85 Amtrak. (2024). Downeaster. www.amtrakdowneaster.com

86 Maine Department of Transportation. (2015). *Maine Strategic Transit Plan 2025*. https://www.maine.gov/mdot/planning/docs/FinalStrategicPlan.pdf

87 Brown, E., Rubin, J. (2021). *Rural public transportation and Maine: Review of state best practices*. University of Maine. https://digitalcommons.library.umaine.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1005&context=mcspc_transport

88 Maine Department of Transportation. (2022). MaineDOT Statement on Equity.

89 Feltner, T., Heller, D. (2015). High Price of Mandatory Auto Insurance in Predominantly African American Communities. *Consumer Federation of America*. https://consumerfed.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/151118

90 Miller, K. (2020, June 21). Maine has nation's worst COVID-19 racial disparity. *Portland Press Herald*. https://www.pressherald.com/2020/06/21/maine-has-nations-worst-covid-19-racial-disparity/

91 Maine Center for Disease Control and Prevention. (2024). Rural health in Maine. https://www.maine.gov/dhhs/mecdc/public-health-systems/rhpc/rural-health.shtml

92 Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2023). Racism and health. https://www.cdc.gov/minority-health/racism-health/?CDC_AAref_Val=https://www.cdc.gov/minorityhealth/racism-disparities/index.html

93 US Census Bureau. (2020). Urban and Rural. Decennial Census, DEC 118th Congressional District Summary File, Table P2. Retrieved March 19, 2024. https://data.census.gov/table/DECENNIALCD1182020.P2?q=rural&g=040XX00US23.

94 Maine Department of Health and Human Services. (2019). Maine interactive health data. https://www.maine.gov/dhhs/mecdc/phdata/MaineCHNA/maine-interactive-health-data.shtml

95 US Health Resources & Services Administration. (2024). HPSA find. https://data.hrsa.gov/tools/shortage-area/hpsa-find

96 Federal Communications Commission. (2017). *Mapping Broadband Health in America 2017*. https://www.fcc.gov/sites/default/files/connect2health.key_findings.pdf

97 Arcury, T. G., et al. (2015). The effects of geography and spatial behavior on health care utilization among residents of a rural region. *Health Services Research*. 40(1), 135-155.

98 Ziller, E. (2018). Health Equity Challenges in Rural America. *Human Rights*. 43(3), 10-12.

99 Maine Center for Disease Control and Prevention. (2022). *Health in Maine: Race.* https://www.maine.gov/dhhs/mecdc/phdata/MaineCHNA/documents/Race%20HE%20Data%20Sheet%206.27.2022.pdf

100 Furtado, K., Verdeflor, A., & Waidmann, T. (2023). *A Conceptual Map of Structural Racism in Health Care*. Urban Institute. https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/2023-10/A%20Conceptual%20Map%20of%20Structural%20Racism%20in%20Health%20Care.pdf

101 US Census Bureau. (2022). 2022 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimate Table - S2701. Retrieved from 2022 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimate Tables https://data.census.gov/table/ACSST1Y2017.S2701?t=Health%20Insurance&g=040XX00US23

102 Maine Center for Disease Control and Prevention. (2022). Health in Maine: Race.

103 Altarum Healthcare Value Hub. (2022). Maine Residents Struggle to Afford High Healthcare Costs; COVID Fears Add to Support for a Range of Government Solutions Across Party Lines. https://www.healthcarevaluehub.org/advocate-resources/publications/maine-residents-struggle-afford-high-healthcare-costs-covid-fears-add-support-range-government-solutions-across-party-lines.

104 Mora, H., Obayemi, A., Holcomb, K., & Hinson, M. (2022). The national deficit of Black and Hispanic physicians in the US and projected estimates of time to correction. *JAMA Network Open*. 5(6).

105 Association of American Medical Colleges. (2023). *US Physician Workforce Data*. https://www.aamc.org/data-reports/data/2023-us-physician-workforce-data-dashboard

106 Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, and Harvard T.H Chan School of Public Health. (2017). *Discrimination in America: Experiences and Views of African Americans*. https://www.rwjf.org/en/insights/our-research/2017/10/discrimination-in-america--experiences-and-views.html

107 Sabin, J. A., Nosek, B.A., Greenwald, A.G., & Rivara, F.P. (2009). Physicians' implicit and explicit attitudes about race by MD race, ethnicity, and gender. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved*. 20(3), p. 896-907.

108 Ryn, M.V., Burgess, D., Malat, J., Griffin, J. (2006). Physicians' perceptions of patients' social and behavioral characteristics and race disparities in treatment recommendations for men with coronary artery disease. *American Journal of Public Health*. 96(2), p. 351-357.

109 Petersen E.E., et. al. (2019). *Racial ethnic disparities in pregnancy-related deaths – United States, 2007-2016. Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report*. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. https://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/volumes/68/wr/mm6835a3.htm?s_cid=mm6835a3_w

110 Maine Center for Disease Control and Prevention. (2023). Maine maternal, fetal, and infant mortality review panel (MFIMR). https://legislature.maine.gov/doc/9821.

111 Permanent Commission on the Status of Racial, Indigenous, and Tribal Populations. (2022). *Racial Disparities in Prenatal Access in Maine*. https://www.pcritp.me/sites/pcritp.me/default/files/inline-files/LD1113_Racial%20Disparities%20in%20Prenatal%20Access%20in%20Maine.pdf

112 Sutton, M.Y., Anachebe, N.F., Regina, L., & Skanes, H. (2021). Racial and ethnic disparities in reproductive health services and outcomes, 2020. *Obstetrics and Gynecology*. 137(2), p. 225-233.

113 Office of Policy and Legal Analysis Staff. (2022). Malaga Island legislative apology and scholarship fund information. Maine Legislature. https://legislature.maine.gov/doc/9129

114 Goodman, M., Onwumere, O., Milam, L., & Peipert, J. F. (2017). Reducing health disparities by removing cost, access, and knowledge barriers. *American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology*. 216(4).

115 State of Maine Department of Health and Human Services. (2023). MaineCare expansion. https://www.maine.gov/dhhs/data-reports/mainecare-expansion

116 Moniz, M.H., et. al. (2018). Association of Access to Family Planning Services with Medicaid Expansion among Female Enrollees in Michigan. *Health Policy*. 1(4), doi:10.1001/jamanetworkopen.2018.1627.

117 Pharr, J., Francis, C., Terry, C., & Clark, M. (2014). Culture, Caregiving, and Health: Exploring the Influence of Culture on Family Caregiver Experiences. *International Scholarly Research Notes*. 2014.

118 Dill, J., & Duffy, M. (2022). Structural racism and Black women's employment in the US health care sector. *Health Affairs*. 41(2), p. 265-272.

119 Bipartisan Policy Center. (2023). Childcare gap assessment: Maine. https://www.maine.gov/dhhs/sites/maine.gov.dhhs/files/inline-files/Maine-Child-Care-Gaps-January2023.pdf

120 Maine Children's Alliance. (2023). *Helping Maine grow: Strengthening our early care and education system will improve the health and well-being of children and support working parents*.

121 Maine Association for the Education of Young Children. (2023). Testimony of Heather Marden on behalf of the Maine Association for the Education of Young Children. https://www.mainelegislature.org/legis/bills/getTestimonyDoc.asp?id=174464

122 Cohen, L. (2024, May 27). Maine's struggling child care industry gets much-needed boost from new state support. *Portland Press Herald*.

123 US Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2024). May 2023 state occupational employment and wage estimates. https://www.bls.gov/oes/currenT/oes_me.htm

124 United States Government Accountability Office. (2023). *CHILD CARE: Subsidy Eligibility and Use in Fiscal Year 2019 and State Program Changes During the Pandemic*. https://www.gao.gov/assets/gao-23-106073.pdf

125 Maine's Permanent Commission on the Status of Women. (2024). *Maine Needs Quality, Affordable Child Care*. https://www.maine.gov/sos/womens-comm/PCSW%20Childcare%20White%20Page%202023%20Final%20011724.pdf

126 PHI. (2021). Direct care workforce state index - Maine. https://www.phinational.org/state/maine/

127 Robertson, C., Sawo, M., & Cooper, D. (2022). *All states must set higher wage benchmarks for home health care workers*. Economic Policy Institute. https://files.epi.org/uploads/247820.pdf

128 University of Southern Maine Muskie School of Public Service Cutler Institute for Health and Social Policy. (2020). *Maine state plan on aging: Needs assessment*. https://www.maine.gov/dhhs/sites/maine.gov.dhhs/files/inline-files/2020-2024_Maine_State_Plan_on_Aging_Needs_Assessment_Report.pdf

129 PHI. (2021). Direct care workforce state index - Maine. https://www.phinational.org/state/maine/

130 Campbell, S., Del Rio Drake, A., Espinoza, R., & Scales, K. (2021). *Caring for the Future: The Power and Potential of America's Direct Care Workforce*. PHI. https://www.phinational.org/resource/caring-for-the-future-the-power-and-potential-of-americas-direct-care-workforce/

131 Ibid.

132 Robertson, C., Sawo, M., & Cooper, D. (2022). *All states must set higher wage benchmarks for home health care workers*. Economic Policy Institute. https://files.epi.org/uploads/247820.pdf

133 Kids Count Data Center. (2023). Children under age 6 with all available parents in work force, detailed in Maine. https://datacenter.aecf.org/data/tables/7317-children-under-age-6-with-all-available-parents-in-work-force-detailed?loc=21&loct=2#detailed/5/3284-3299/true/1095,2048,573,869,36,868/any/14380,14381

134 The White House. (2023). *FACT SHEET: Vice President Harris Announces Actions to Lower Child Care Costs and Support Childcare Providers*.

135 Health Management Associates. (2021). *2021 Maine Child Care Market Rate Survey*. https://www.maine.gov/dhhs/sites/maine.gov.dhhs/files/inline-files/2021%20Market%20Rate%20Survey_Final.pdf

136 Adams, G., & Henly, J.R. (2020). *Child care subsidies: Supporting work and child development for healthy families*. Health Affairs. https://www.healthaffairs.org/do/10.1377/hpb20200327.116465/

137 Lieberman, H., Agarwal, S., Caldwell, J., & Fulgoni III, V. (2020). Demographics, sleep, and daily patterns of caffeine intake of shift workers in a nationally representative sample of the US adult population. *Sleep*. 43(3).

138 Harrington, E., & McInturff, B. (2021). *Working While Caring: A National Survey of Caregiver Stress in the US Workforce - Key Findings*. Rosalynn Carter Institute for Caregivers. https://rosalynncarter.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/210140-RCI-National-Surveys-Executive-Summary-Update-9.22.21.pdf

139 Campbell, S., Del Rio Drake, A., Espinoza, R., & Scales, K. (2021). *Caring for the Future: The Power and Potential of America's Direct Care Workforce*

140 Phillips, A. (2023, May 9). Child care legislation to benefit Maine workers and families. MECEP analysis of US Census Bureau's household pulse survey. *Maine Center for Economic Policy*. https://www.mecep.org/blog/child-care-legislation-benefit-maine-workers-families/

141 Myall, J. (2022). *State of Working Maine 2022: Recognizing the Value of Labor*. Maine Center for Economic Policy. https://www.mecep.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/State-of-Working-Maine-2022.pdf

142 Mason, J., & Molina Acosta, P. (2021). *Called to Care: A Racially Just Recovery Demands Paid Family and Medical Leave*. National Partnership for Women & Families.

143 Mabud, R., et al. (2021). *Foundations for a Just and Inclusive Recovey*. National Employment Law Project. https://ecommons.cornell.edu/server/api/core/bitstreams/fdd82af7-9ac6-462a-a83e-4f7c096a269e/content

144 Adams, G., & Henly, J.R. (2020). *Child care subsidies: Supporting work and child development for healthy families*. Health Affairs. https://www.healthaffairs.org/do/10.1377/hpb20200327.116465/

145 Lieberman, H., Agarwal, S., Caldwell, J., & Fulgoni III, V. (2020). Demographics, sleep, and daily patterns of caffeine intake of shift workers in a nationally representative sample of the US adult population. *Sleep*. 43(3).

146 Council for a Strong America. (2023). *The Growing, Annual Cost of the Infant-Toddler Child Care Crisis in Maine*. https://www.strongnation.org/articles/2173-the-growing-annual-cost-of-the-infant-toddler-child-care-crisis-in-maine.

147 Phillips, A., & Phillips, J. (2023). *The High Cost of Undervaluing Direct Care Work*. Maine Center for Economic Policy. https://www.mecep.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/The-High-Cost-of-Undervaluing-Direct-Care-Work.pdf.

148 Reinhard, S., et al. (2023). Innovation and Opportunity: A State Scorecard on Long-Term Services and Supports for Older Adults, People with Physical Disabilities, and Family Caregivers, 2023 Edition. AARP Public Policy Institute.

149 UN General Assembly. (1948). Universal Declaration of Human Rights (217 [III] A).

150 Dewey, J. (2024). *Democracy and education*. Columbia University Press.

151 Bladen, J., Matthias, D., & Stuhler, J. (2022). *Education inequality*. Centre for Economic Performance. https://eprints.lse.ac.uk/117857/1/dp1849.pdf

152 Growe, R., Montgomery, S. (2003). Educational equity in America: Is education the great equalizer? *The Professional Educator*. 25(2), p. 23-29.

153 Brief of Amicus Curiae The American Psychological Association in Support of Respondents, Abigail Noel Fisher v. University of Texas at Austin, (US Supreme Court) (no. 11-345).

154 Maine ACLU. (2017). *We Belong Here, Eliminating Inequity in Education for Immigrants and Students of Color in Maine*. https://www.aclumaine.org/sites/default/files/webelonghere_report.pdf

155 Murphy, M.C., & Zirkel, S. (2015). Race and belonging in school: How anticipated and experienced belonging affect choice, persistence, and performance. *Teachers College Record*. 117(12).

156 Maine Department of Education. (2024). Student enrollment data. https://www.maine.gov/doe/data-warehouse/reporting/enrollment

157 Office for Civil Rights. (2024). Maine. US Department of Education. https://civilrightsdata.ed.gov/profile/us/me?surveyYear=2020

158 New England Secondary School Consortium. (2023). *Common Data Project Annual Report*. https://www.greatschoolspartnership.org/data-report/

159 National Center For Education Statistics. (2024). Digest state dashboard: Maine. US Department of Education. https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest-dashboard/state/maine

160 Stanford Center for Education Policy Analysis. (n.d.). The educational opportunity monitoring project. https://cepa.stanford.edu/educational-opportunity-monitoring-project/achievement-gaps/race/#fifth

161 Dee, T.S. (2001). Teachers, race, and student achievement in a randomized experiment. National Bureau of Economic Research. https://www.nber.org/papers/w8432

162 Maine Department of Education. (2024). Diversifying the educator workforce. https://www.maine.gov/doe/exploreeducation/teachmaine/themetwo

163 National Center for Education Statistics. (2012). Schools and staffing survey, "Total number of public school teachers and percentage distribution of school teachers, by race/ethnicity and state: 2011-2012." US Department of Education. https://nces.ed.gov/surveys/sass/tables/sass1112_2013314_t1s_001.asp

164 Mette, I.M., & Fairman, J.C. (2022). *MEPRI Survey Study of Maine Public School Administrators*. Maine Education Policy Research Institute. https://bpb-us-w2.wpmucdn.com/wpsites.maine.edu/dist/e/97/files/2022/08/MEPRI_Survey_Study_of_Maine_School_Administrators_F.pdf

165 Maine ACLU. (2022). *The Wabanaki Studies Law, 21 Years After Implementation*. https://www.aclumaine.org/sites/default/files/field_documents/2022_wabanaki_report-digital-rev.pdf

166 New England Secondary School Consortium. (2023). *Common Data Project Annual Report, Executive Summary*. https://www.greatschoolspartnership.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/CDP_Executive_Summary__April_17_2023.pdf

167 American Psychological Association. (2017). *Education and Socioeconomic Status*. https://www.apa.org/pi/ses/resources/publications/education

168 Rothstein, R. (2017). *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How our Government Segregated America*. Liveright Publishing.

169 Maine Department of Education (2023). Percentage of students chronically absent by race or ethnicity. https://www.maine.gov/doe/sites/maine.gov.doe/files/inline-files/Chronic%20Absent%20Data%20-%202022%2B%20Updated%20%20%281%29.xlsx

170 New England Secondary School Consortium. (2023). Common Data Project Annual Report.

171 Office for Civil Rights. (2024). Maine. US Department of Education. https://civilrightsdata.ed.gov/profile/us/me?surveyYear=2020.

172 Skiba, R., Michael, R.S., & Nardo, A.C. (2000). *The Color of Discipline: Sources of Racial and Gender Disproportionality in School Punishment*. US Department of Education Office of Educational Research and Improvement. files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED468512.pdf

173 Welsh, R.O., & Little, S. (2018). The school discipline dilemma: A comprehensive review of disparities and alternative approaches. *Review of Educational Research*. 88(5), p. 752-794.

174 Losen, D. J, Hodson, C. L, Keith II, M. A, Morrison, K., & Belway, S. (2015). *Are We Closing the School Discipline Gap?* UCLA: The Civil Rights Project / Proyecto Derechos Civiles. https://escholarship.org/uc/item/2t36g571

175 Skiba, R.J., Arredondo, M.I., & Williams, N.T. (2014). More than a metaphor: The contribution of exclusionary discipline to a school-to-prison pipeline. *Equity and Excellence in Education*. 47(4), p. 546-564.

176 Maine ACLU. (2022). The Wabanaki Studies Law, 21 Years After Implementation.

177 Ibid.

178 Otherness and Belonging Institute. (2023). Racial Disparities Dashboard. https://belonging.berkeley.edu/racial-disparities

179 New England Secondary School Consortium. (2023). Common Data Project Annual Report.

180 The Institute for College Access and Success. (2021). Student debt and the class of 2020. https://ticas.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/classof2020.pdf

181 Maine's Community Colleges. (2024). Free college. https://www.mccs.me.edu/freecollege/

182 Gándara, D., & Li, A. (2020). Promise for whom? "Free-college" programs and enrollments by race and gender classifications at public, 2-year colleges. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*. 42(4), 603-627.

183 Leung-Gagné, M., McCombs, J., Scott, C., & Losen, D.J. (2022). Pushed Out: Trends and Disparities in Out-of-School Suspension. Learning Policy Institute. https://learningpolicyinstitute.org/sites/default/files/2022-09/CRDC_School_Suspension_REPORT.pdf

184 Sered, D. (2017). *Accounting for violence: How to increase safety and break our failed reliance on mass incarceration*. New York: Vera Institute of Justice. https://www.vera.org/downloads/publications/accounting-for-violence.pdf

185 Murray, C., Dumont, R., & Shaler, G. (2022). *2022 Maine crime victimization report: Informing public policy for safer communities*. Maine Statistical Analysis Center. University of Southern Maine. https://rb.gy/fvxov

186 Vera Institute. Ending mass incarceration. Data from the World Prison Brief. https://www.vera.org/ending-mass-incarceration

187 Bureau of Justice Statistics. (2022). Jail inmates in 2021. https://rb.gy/3c10x

188 NAACP. The Origins of Modern Day Policing. https://naacp.org/find-resources/history-explained/origins-modern-day-policing

189 Wells, J. (2020). *The Kidnapping Club: Wall Street, Slavery, and Resistance on the Eve of the Civil War.* Bold Type Books

190 Turner, J., et al. (2022). *Captive labor: Exploitation of incarcerated workers*. Global Human Rights Clinic: 4. https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1003&context=ghrc

191 McCann, S. (2023). From fighting wildfires to digging graves, incarcerated workers face danger on the job. *Vera Institute of Justice*.https://www.vera.org/news/from-fighting-wildfires-to-digging-graves-incarcerated-workers-face-danger-on-the-job

192 Losen, D. J, Hodson, C. L, Keith II, M. A, Morrison, K., & Belway, S. (2015). *Are we closing the school discipline gap?* UCLA: The Civil Rights Project / Proyecto Derechos Civiles. https://escholarship.org/uc/item/2t36g571

193 Alexander, M. (2010). *The New Jim Crow: Mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness*. The New Press, New York, NY.

194 Fagan, J. (2021). No runs, few hits, and many errors: Street stops, bias, and proactive policing. *UCLA L. Rev*. 68, 1584.

195 Edwards, F., Lee, H., & Esposito, M. (2019). Risk of being killed by police use of force in the United States by age, race–ethnicity, and sex. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*. 116(34), 16793-16798.

196 Vera Institute. (2019). Incarceration trends in Maine. https://rb.gy/ijzgt

197 Maine Department of Corrections. 2022. DOC Responses to Other Information Requests. accessed 3/12/23. https://legislature.maine.gov/doc/9093

198 Prison Policy Institute. Maine profile. (n.d.). https://www.prisonpolicy.org/profiles/ME.html

199 McDevitt, J., Shaler, G., Goan, S., Abeyta, S., & Cuevas, C. (2022). *Assessing arrest & traffic stop patterns in Portland, ME: An analysis of Portland Police Department data*. University of Southern Maine. https://cloudup.com/cZKsh_mMGoi

200 Shelor, B, et al. (2019). *Justice reinvestment in Maine: Second presentation*. Council of State Governments. https://csgjusticecenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/JR-in-Maine-second-presentation1.pdf

201 Mendoza, S., Hatch, A.E., & Hansen, H. (2019). Race, stigma, and addiction. In J.D. Avery and J.J. Avery, (Eds.), *The Stigma of Addiction: An Essential Guide* (pp. 131–152). Springer Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-02580-9

202 ACLU. (2020). *A tale of two countries: Racially targeted arrests in the era of marijuana reform.* https://www.aclu.org/wp-content/uploads/publications/marijuanareport_03232021.pdf

203 McDevitt, J., Shaler, G., Goan, S., Abeyta, S., & Cuevas, C. (2022). *Assessing arrest & traffic stop patterns in Portland, ME: An analysis of Portland Police Department data.* University of Southern Maine. https://cloudup.com/cZKsh_mMGoi

204 Wang, L. & Bertram, W. (2022). New data on formerly incarcerated people's employment reveal labor market injustices. *Prison Policy Institute*. https://www.prisonpolicy.org/blog/2022/02/08/employment/

205 Carson, E.A., Sandler, D.H., Bhaskar, R., Fernandez, L.E., Porter, S.R. (2021). *Employment of Persons Released From Federal Prison in 2010*. Bureau of Justice Statistics. https://bjs.ojp.gov/content/pub/pdf/eprfp10.pdf

206 Colgate Love, M. (2022). *The Reintegration Report Card.* Collateral Consequences Resource Center. https://ccresourcecenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/The-Reintegration-Report-Card.3.2122.pdf

207 Me. H.R. Reg. Sess. (2021) Resolution Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of Maine To Establish a Right to Food. https://legislature.maine.gov/legis/bills/getPDF.asp?paper=HP0061&item=1&snum=130

208 Rabbitt, M.P., Hales, L.J., Burke, M.P., & Coleman-Jensen, A. (2023). *Household food security in the United States in 2022*. US Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service. https://www.ers.usda.gov/publications/pub-details/?pubid=107702

209 Hall, L. (2023, October 26). Food Insecurity Increased in 2022, With Severe Impact on Households With Children and Ongoing Racial Inequities. *Center on Budget and Policy Priorities*. https://www.cbpp.org/blog/food-insecurity-increased-in-2022-with-severe-impact-on-households-with-children-and-ongoing

210 National Institute on Minority Health and Health Disparities. (2024). Food accessibility, insecurity and health outcomes. https://www.nimhd.nih.gov/resources/understanding-health-disparities/food-accessibility-insecurity-and-health-outcomes.html

211 Gross, R., Edmunds, M., & Schwartz, P. (2021). *Food Security: A community driver of health*. American Public Health Association, AcademyHealth, and Kaiser Permanente. https://www.apha.org/-/media/files/pdf/pubs/food_security_health_community_driver.ashx

212 Rabbitt, M.P., Hales, L.J., Burke, M.P., & Coleman-Jensen, A. (2023). *Household food security in the United States in 2022*. US Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service.

213 Casey, A.R. (2021). *Racial Equity in US Farming: Background in Brief*. Congressional Research Service. https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R46969

214 Cowan, T., & Feder, J. (2008, August). *The* Pigford *Cases: USDA Settlement of Discrimination Suits by Black Farmers*. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc810208/m2/1/high_res_d/RS20430_2013Mar12.pdf

215 Permanent Commission on the Status of Racial, Indigenous and Tribal Populations. (2022). *Land access for Indigenous and African American farmers in Maine*. https://www.pcritp.me/sites/pcritp.me/default/files/inline-files/LD%20870%20Report%20to%20Legislature_PCRITP%20%284%29.pdf

216 Washington, K. (2016). My life from the projects to the farm. In Godfrey, P., & Torres, D. (Eds.). *Emergent Possibilities for Global Sustainability*. (pp. 178-183). Routledge.

217 Gross, R., Edmunds, M., & Schwartz, P. (2021). *Food Security: A community driver of health*. American Public Health Association, AcademyHealth, and Kaiser Permanente.

218 Feeding America. (2022, July 20). *New Study from Feeding America Shows Extensive Disparities in Food Insecurity at the County Level* [Press Release]. https://www.feedingamerica.org/about-us/press-room/disparities-in-food-insecurity

219 US Social Security Administration. (2022). Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) facts. https://www.ssa.gov/pubs/EN-05-10101.pdf

220 National Institute on Minority Health and Health Disparities. (2024). Food accessibility, insecurity and health outcomes.

221 Economic Research Service. (2024). State fact sheets. US Department of Agriculture. USDA ERS - State Fact Sheets. https://www.ers.usda.gov/data-products/state-fact-sheets/

222 Feeding America. (n.d.). Maine. https://www.feedingamerica.org/hunger-in-america/maine

223 Graham, G. (2021, March 28). Pandemic reveals race disparities around hunger in Maine. *Portland Press Herald*. https://www.pressherald.com/2021/03/28/pandemic-reveals-race-disparities-around-hunger-in-maine/

224 Myall, J. (2019). *Issue Brief: Food Insecurity in Maine*. Maine Center for Economic Policy. https://www.mecep.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/MECEP-Hunger-Issue-Brief-2019.pdf

225 Mora, A. M., et al. (2022). Impact of COVID-19 pandemic on California farmworkers' mental health and food security. *Journal of Agromedicine*. 27(3). 303-314. https://doi.org/10.1080/1059924X.2022.2058664

226 Borre, K., Ertle, L. and Graff, M. (2010). Working to eat: Vulnerability, food insecurity, and obesity among migrant and seasonal farmworker families. *American Journal of Industrial Medicine*. 53. 443-462. https://doi.org/10.1002/ajim.20836

227 Smith, J. & Cuesta, G. (2018). Hunger in the fields: Food insecurity and food access among farmworker families in Migrant and Seasonal Head Start. *Journal of Latinos and Education*. 19(3). https://doi.org/10.1080/15348431.2018.1500291

228 Food and Nutrition Service. SNAP eligibility. US Department of Agriculture. https://www.fns.usda.gov/snap/recipient/eligibility

229 Smith, J., & Cuesta, G. (2018). Hunger in the fields: Food insecurity and food access among farmworker families in Migrant and Seasonal Head Start. Journal of Latinos and Education, 19(3).

230 Permanent Commission on the Status of Racial, Indigenous and Tribal Populations. (2022). Land access for Indigenous and African American farmers in Maine.

231 Bennett, Z. M. (2017). "A Means of Removing Them Further from Us": The Struggle for Waterpower on New England's Eastern Frontier. *The New England Quarterly*. 90(4), 540-560. https://doi.org/10.1162/tneq_a_00640

232 Kalt, J.P., Medford, A.B., & Taylor, J.B. (2022). *Economic and Social Impacts of Restrictions on the Applicability of Federal Indian Policies to the Wabanaki Nations in Maine*. The Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development.

233 Kalt, J.P., Medford, A.B., & Taylor, J.B. (2022). *Economic and Social Impacts of Restrictions on the Applicability of Federal Indian Policies to the Wabanaki Nations in Maine*. The Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development.

234 State of Maine 129th Legislature. (2019). *Task Force on Changes to the Maine Indian Claims Settlement Implementing Act*. https://legislature.maine.gov/doc/3815

235 The Law Dictionary. (n.d.). Sovereignty definition and legal meaning. https://thelawdictionary.org/sovereignty/

236 US Const. art. 1, § 8.

237 Fletcher, M.L.M. (2014). A short history of Indian Law in the Supreme Court. *Human Rights Magazine*. 40(4). https://www.americanbar.org/groups/crsj/publications/human_rights_magazine_home/2014_vol_40/vol--40--no--1--tribal-sovereignty/short_history_of_indian_law/

238 United Nations. (2007, September 13). United Nations declaration on the rights of Indigenous peoples. https://www.ohchr.org/en/indigenous-peoples/un-declaration-rights-indigenous-peoples

239 US Department of the Interior. (n.d.). Tribes. https://www.doi.gov/international/what-we-do/tribes

240 Gousse, J.G.E. (2014). Waiting for Gluskabe: An examination of Maine's colonialist legacy suffered by Native American Tribes under the Maine Indian Claims Settlement Act of 1980. *Maine Law Review*. 66, p. 542-545.

241 Hinton, M.C.F., & Giles, E.J. (2022). Eli-Tpitahatomek Tpaskuwakonol Waponahkik (How we, Native People, reflect on the law in the Dawnland). *Maine Law Review*. 74, p. 227.

242 Thibeault, P., & Bell, R. (2022). Sea run; A study regarding the impact of Maine policies on the quality and quantity of traditional tribal fish stocks and sustenance practices. *Maine Indian Tribal State Commission*. https://www.mitsc.org/news/mitsc-special-report-sea-run

243 Maine Indian Claims Settlement Act of 1980, Publ. L. 96-420. (1980). https://www.congress.gov/bill/96th-congress/house-bill/7919

244 An Act to Provide for Implementation of the Settlement of Claims by Indians in the State of Maine and to Create the Passamaquoddy Indian Territory and Penobscot Indian Territory, 30 MRS §§ 6201-6214. (1979).

245 Wabanaki Alliance. (n.d.). Understanding tribal sovereignty. https://www.wabanakialliance.com/sovereignty/
246 Goodall, H. (2006). *Echoes from the poisoned well: Global memories of environmental injustice*. Lexington Books. (73-95).
247 Kunesh, P.H. (2022). The power of self-determination in building sustainable economies in Indian Country. Economic Policy Institute. https://www.epi.org/publication/the-power-of-self-determination-in-building-sustainable-economies-in-indian-country/
248 Kalt, J.P., Medford, A.B., & Taylor, J.B. (2022). *Economic and Social Impacts of Restrictions on the Applicability of Federal Indian Policies to the Wabanaki Nations in Maine*. Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development.
249 Friederichs, N. (2019). Federal laws enacted after October 10, 1980 for the benefit of Indians or Indian Nations. *Suffolk University Law School*. https://legislature.maine.gov/doc/3616
250 Dieffenbacher-Krall, J. (2016). Briefing booklet for the roundtable to review the Maine Indian Claims Settlement Act. *Maine Indian Tribal-State Commission*. https://legislature.maine.gov/doc/3087
251 Kenney, J. (2012). Tribes as managers of federal natural resources. *Natural Resources and Environment*. 27(1).
252 Cronin, A., Ostergren, D. (2007). Tribal watershed management culture, science, capacity, and collaboration. *The American Indian Quarterly*. 31(1), 87-106.
253 Gotoff et al. (2024). Public awareness and perceptions of disparities in Maine: Analysis of survey findings. A report to the Permanent Commission on the Status of Racial, Indigenous, and Tribal Populations.
254 Joint Resolution to Support the Resolution to Support the Development of Mutually Beneficial Solutions to the Conflicts Arising From the Interpretation of an Act to Implement the Maine Indian Claims Settlement and the Federal Maine Indian Claims Settlement Act of 1980, J. Res. LR 2507, 129th Maine Legislature. (2019). https://legislature.maine.gov/legis/bills/bills_129th/billtexts/SP062201.asp
255 Dieffenbacher-Krall, J. (2016). Briefing booklet for the roundtable to review the Maine Indian Claims Settlement Act. *Maine Indian Tribal-State Commission*.
256 Office of Policy and Legal Analysis. (2020, July 24). Task Force on Changes to the Maine Indian Claims Settlement Implementing Act Consensus Recommendations. 129th Maine Legislature. https://legislature.maine.gov/doc/4364
257 Ibid.
258 Mohai, P., Pellow, D., & Roberts, J. T. (2009). Environmental justice. *Annual Review of Environment and Resources*. 34(1), 405-430.
259 Schlosberg, D. (2013). Theorizing environmental justice: the expanding sphere of a discourse. *Environmental Politics*. 22(1), 37-55.
260 Sultana, F. (2021). Critical climate justice. *The Geographical Journal*. 188. 118-124. https://doi.org/10.1111/geoj.12417
261 Otto, I.M., Reckien, D., Reyer, C.P.O. Marcus, R., Le Masson, V., Jones, L., Norton, A., & Serdeczny, O. (2017). Social vulnerability to climate change: a review of concepts and evidence. *Regional Environmental Change*. 17, 1651–1662. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10113-017-1105-9
262 Berberian, A.G., Gonzalez, D.J.X. & Cushing, L.J. (2022). Racial Disparities in Climate Change-Related Health Effects in the United States. *Current Environmental Health Reports*. 9, 451–464. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40572-022-00360-w
263 FEMA. (2022). CDC Social Vulnerability Index. https://www.fema.gov/node/cdc-social-vulnerability-index.
264 Maine Preservation. (2018, October 30). Maine's historic dams, statewide. https://www.mainepreservation.org/new-blog/2018/10/30/maines-historic-dams-statewidenew-blog/2018/10/30/maines-historic-dams-statewide
265 Maine Indian Tribal-State Commission. (2023). *Sea Run: A Study Regarding the Impact of Maine Policies on the Quality and Quantity of Traditional Tribal Fish Stocks and Sustenance Practices*. https://www.mitsc.org/library/sea-run
266 An Act to Implement the Maine Indian Claims Settlement, 30 MRSA §6207 (1980). https://lldc.mainelegislature.org/Open/Laws/1979/1979_PL_c732.pdf
267 Wippelhauser, G. (2021), Recovery of diadromous Fishes: A Kennebec River case study. *Transactions of the American Fisheries Society*. 150(3), 277-290. https://doi.org/10.1002/tafs.10292
268 Kleinschmidt Group. (2015). *Maine Hydropower Study*. Prepared for Maine Governor's Energy Office. https://www.maine.gov/energy/sites/maine.gov.energy/files/inline-files/001-ME-GEO-Rpt-02-04-15.pdf
269 US Energy Information Administration. (2023). Maine. https://www.eia.gov/state/analysis.php?sid=ME
270 Maine Bureau of General Services. (n.d.). Maine's state-owned landfills. https://www.maine.gov/dafs/bgs/maines-state-owned-landfills
271 Maine Bureau of General Services. (2024, June 70). Application for a determination of public benefit Juniper Ridge Landfill expansion. https://shorturl.at/I8P3g
272 Maine Department of Environmental Protection. Juniper Ridge Landfill. https://www.maine.gov/dep/waste/juniperridge/index.html
273 Nichlols, S. (2021, December 14). Maine should not be New England's dumping ground. *Natural Resources Council of Maine*. https://www.nrcm.org/maine-environment-newsletters/maine-should-not-be-new-englands-dumping-ground/
274 An Act To Preserve State Landfill Capacity and Promote Recycling, 38 MRSA §1303-C, sub-§6. (2019). https://legislature.maine.gov/legis/bills/bills_129th/chapters/PUBLIC619.asp
275 Eichacker, C. (2022, March 18). Maine's landfill is meant for in-state waste. Here's how Massachusetts and NH are filling it up. *Maine Public*. https://www.mainepublic.org/environment-and-outdoors/2022-03-18/maines-landfill-is-meant-for-in-state-waste-heres-how-massachusetts-and-nh-are-filling-it-up
276 Cough, K. (2024, July 19). State will decide on Juniper Ridge public benefit by August. *The Maine Monitor*. https://themainemonitor.org/juniper-ridge-decision-coming/
277 Bryant, M. (2024, February 15). Testimony on Juniper Ridge Landfill operating services agreement. https://www.maine.gov/dafs/bgs/sites/maine.gov.dafs.bgs/files/inline-files/Public%20Hearing%20Transcription%2002-15-2024%20%28edited%29_1.docx
278 Ghaznavi, S.M., et al. (2023). Management of per- and polyfluoroalkyl substances (PFAS)-laden wastewater sludge in Maine: Perspectives on a wicked problem. *Biointerphases*. 18(4). https://doi.org/10.1116/6.0002796
279 Pickard, H. M., Ruyle, B. J., Thackray, C. P., Chovancova, A., Dassuncao, C., Becanova, J. & Sunderland, E. M. (2022). PFAS and precursor bioaccumulation in freshwater recreational fish: implications for fish advisories. *Environmental science & technology,* 56(22), 15573-15583.
280 Panieri, E., Baralic, K., Djukic-Cosic, D., Buha Djordjevic, A., & Saso, L. (2022). PFAS molecules: a major concern for the human health and the environment. Toxics, 10(2), 44.
281 Eastern Research Group (2020). *Volume I: Vulnerability Mapping.* Presentation to the Governor's Office of Policy Innovation and the Future. Sept 2020.